



A MANUAL OF THE  
HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE

~~FOR STUDENTS~~

Compiled from the  
Lecture Notes of Pandit Upendranath Vidya-  
bhushana Sastrī, B.A., M.R.I.S., Senior Professor  
of Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages, City  
College Calcutta and some eminent senior  
Professors of First Grade Colleges

PUBLISHED BY  
**S K MIHIRA, B.A.**  
SISIR PUBLISHING HOUSE  
197 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta

Price Rupee One & Annas Six Only

12s 3d

Printed by—Sashi  
AT THE METCAL  
*15, Nayanchand Dutt*

## INTRODUCTORY LECTURE

### A Short History of the study of Indian Literature in Europe

After Alexander's invasion the Greeks to some extent became acquainted with the learning of the Indians. The Arabs in middle ages introduced the knowledge of Indian science to the west. A few European missionaries from the 16th century onwards acquired some familiarity with the ancient language of India. Abraham Roger translated Bhartrihari's poems into Dutch in 1657. But the first impulse to the study of Sanskrit was given by the practical administrative needs of the English Indian possessions. Warren Hastings, the first Governor General of the East India Company, to rule as far as practicable the Hindus in accordance with their own laws & customs, prepared a digest of the Hindu law an English translation whereof was published in 1776. Charles Wilkins at Hastings' instigation learnt Sanskrit at Benares & in 1785 published a translation of the Gita (गीताम्) & in 1787 a version of the Hitopadesa (हितोपदेश). But the genuine pioneer of Sanskrit studies in the west was Sir William Jones (1746—1794 A.D.) who

founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 & aroused a keen interest in the study of Indian antiquity by his indefatigable literary activity. In 1789 A. D he published his translation of Kalidasa's Sakuntala (অভিজান শনুলক্ষ্ম) which was followed by a translation of the code of Manu (মহামতি). In 1792 A. D he published Kalidasa's Cycle of seasons ( ঋতু-সংচার ) He was followed by Henry J. Colebrook (1765—1837 A. D ), who first handled the Sanskrit language & literature on scientific principles by publishing many texts, translations & essays dealing with almost every branch of Sanskrit learning. Alexander Hamilton (1765—1824 A. D ), a Sanskrit scholar, who had been kept a prisoner in Paris on account of hostilities between the English & the French, taught Sanskrit to some French scholars & the German poet F. Schlegel who published his essay on the language & wisdom of the Indians in 1808 A. D This essay produced a revolution in the science of language by leading to the foundation of the science of comparative philology by Franz Bopp in his 'conjugational system of Sanskrit in comparison with that of Greek, Latin, Persian, & German' (1816 A. D ). The Vedic study was, however, introduced by F. Rosen by his publication of the first eighth (প্রথম অংশ) of the Rigveda in 1838 A. D , when R. Roth (1821—95 A. D,) first published his epoch-making essay on the literature and history of the Veda in 1846, and since then the study of the Vedas has been prosecuted with such zeal that nearly

all the most valuable works of the Vedic period have been made accessible The detailed investigations of Sanskrit in every department are so numerous that an encyclopaedia covering the whole domain of Indo Aryan antiquity is now being published at Strasburg under the editorship of Dr Kiel Horn of Gottingen

**Originality of Sanskrit Literature** In spite of touching excellence in most of its branches Sanskrit literature has mainly achieved greatness in religion and philosophy The Indians are the only division of the Indo European family which has created a great national religion Hinduism ( more properly Brahmanism ) and a great world religion Buddhism Moreover the Indians developed independently several systems of philosophy But the primal importance of ancient Indian literature as a whole largely consists in its originality Sanskrit is a high language or class language or literary language in contrast to aetual language of the people ( popular dialect called श्रावकीया ) According to Dr Winternitz Sanskrit can never be a dead language but rather a fettered language being checked through the rules of the grammarians

**Chronology of Indian literature** The Chronology of the history of Indian literature is shrouded in truly terrifying darkness But there is the evidence of language which proves that the hymns and songs, prayers and magic formulas of the Veda are indisputably the oldest which we possess of Indian literature It is also certain that Buddhism arose in India about 500 years before Christ and that it pre-supposes

the whole Vedic literature as practically finished. The Greeks and the Chinese also supply us with some information about the Indians. Nevertheless one must not believe that the historical sense is entirely lacking in the Indians. In India there has been historical writing and in any case we find accurately dated inscriptions in India which would hardly be the case if the Indians had no sense of history at all. The Indians did not keep facts and fiction strictly apart from each other. The corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum and the Epigraphia Indica are our surest authorities on dates of Indian literary history.

**Art of writing & Transmission of Indian literature.** The history of Indian Literature does not begin with written literature, but only with orally transmitted texts which belong to the oldest periods of literary history. The oldest datable inscriptions found up to date are the edicts of king Asoka of the 3rd century B.C. But Palaeographic facts prove that writing was not a new invention as late as the time of Asoka and that it had had a long history behind it.

Antiquarians hold that writing was introduced into India about 800 B.C. by traders coming by way of Mesopotomia. Dr. Buhler has clearly shown that there were two classes of script (लिपि) known in ancient India, the one called Kharoshthi (ਖਰੋਥੀ) was employed in the country of Gandhara (E. Afganistan and N. Punjab) from the 4th century B.C. to 200 A.D., and the other called Brahmi (ਭਾਕ੍ਸੀ) was the

true national writing of India and all later Indian alphabets were descended from it The Kharoshthi script was written from the right to the left while the Brahmi was written from the left to the right In the inscriptions of the 3rd century B C two types the northern and the southern, may be distinguished in the Brahmi writing From the northern type is descended the group of scripts the most important being the Nagari (नागरी) or नेवनागरी From the southern variety are descended five types of script the principal amongst them being the characters of the Canarese and the Telegu country

**Materials of writing** They were plates of stone hra's copper, hirch bark (हर्जवक्) palm leaf (पालपत्र) & Sachi leaf (शाचीपत्र) Paper was introduced by the mohomedan conquest In spite of predilection for oral teaching & learning many centuries ago the Indians began to collect mannscripts & to preserve them in libraries which they called संस्कृतालाङ्गार (or बागदेवीलाङ्गार) & which then existed & even now exist in numbers in monasteries and temples in palaces of princes and even in private houses of the wealthy

### Indian Languages in their relation to Literature

The terms Indian literature and Sanskrit literature are not identical The history of Indian literature is the history of a literature which not only stretches across great periods of time and an enormous area but also one which is composed in many

languages. Indian languages belonging to the Indo-European family of languages have passed through three great phases of development, partly consecutive in time and partly also parallel. These are :—

### I. Ancient Indian comprising

1. Ancient high Indian : (a) language of the oldest hymns and mantras, specially of the Sama Veda and the Rigveda. (b) Language of the later hymns and mantras, specially those of the other Vedas, besides of the mantras occurring only in the Brahmanas and the Kalpa sutras (‘श्लोक’, गृहस्त्र and धर्मस्त्र etc). 2 Sanskrit. (a) Ancient Sanskrit, the language of the Vedic prose works (excepting the mantras) and of Panini (b, Epic Sanskrit, the language of the popular national epics. c) Classical Sanskrit, the language of classical Sanskrit literature after Panini

II. Middle Indian languages and dialects comprising—1. Pali, the most important of the middle Indian literary languages. It was the language in which the oldest preserved collection of sacred writings of Buddhism was written. The Buddha talked to the people in Pali, the language of the people.

It was then the language of the Magadha province

2. Besides Pali there exists also a Buddhist Sanskrit literature. These works, containing Sanskrit Prose, have also poetical gathas ( songs in verses ) composed in a middle Indian dialect called gatha dialect.

3. (a) The Jain Prakrit ( called अङ्गभाषा or अङ्ग ), the language of older works of the Jain canon (b)

4 The Jain Mahärshtri (ैषनमहाराष्ट्री), the language in which the commentaries, to the Jain canon and their 500 religious poetical works were written 4 Mahärashtri (माराष्ट्री) or the language of Mahärashtra which was the best form of Prakrit, found in songs and lyric parts of first class Sanskrit dramas 5 The सौरसेनी (Sauraseni) which is the prose of Sanskrit dramas was chiefly spoken by high born women It was the dialect of Mathura 6 Persons of lower classes spoke Vogadhi (वोगडी) in Saoskrit dramas 7 पैसाची (Paisachi) was spoken in Sanskrit dramas by the members of the lowest grades of society Gunadhya's Brihat Katha was composed in Paisachi dialect 8 Apabhrañña (अपभ्रंश) was used in popular poetry, in Jain romances and occasionally in dramas It stood between the Prakrit and the modern Indian Vernaculars

III The modern Indian languages and dialects comprising—(a) Bengali (b) Hindi (c) Urdu, &c &c.

**Two periods of Sanskrit Literature** The history of Sanskrit literature falls into two main periods The first is the Vedic period and the second is the classical Sanskrit or post Vedic period

The first period begins with prehistorical time and extends up to the period just preceding Panini In the former half of the Vedic age the character of its literature was creative and poetical, while the centre of culture extended as far as the territory of the Indus and its branches (गृहसिंह और मैदान) the modern Punjab (then called Brahmapurta ब्रह्मपुर्त) and in

the latter half, the literature was theologically speculative in matter and prosaic in form, while the centre of culture had shifted to the valley of the Ganges called Bramarshidesa and Madhyadesa ( ब्रह्मशिदेशं and मध्यादेशं ). Thus in the course of the Vedic age, Aryan civilisation had overspread the whole of Hindusthan ( हिन्दुस्थान ) proper ( i.e. आर्यावर्त ).

Classical Sanskrit or post Vedic period began with the final offshoots of Vedic period with Panini and his preceding grammarians and closed with the Mahamedan conquest after 1000 A.D During this epoch, Sanskrit culture was introduced into and overspread the Deccan. In course of these two periods taken together Indian literature attained noteworthy results in nearly every department

**Sanskrit as a spoken language** Older grammarians from Yaska ( यास्क ) long before the 5th century before Christ onwards speak of Sanskrit as a Bhasha ( भाषा ) or speech in distinction from Vedic. The remarks they make about it point to its being a spoken language. Patanjali ( पतञ्जलि ) refers to it as used in the world ( लोके ) and designates the words of his Sanskrit as current in the world. Panini himself in about the 5th century B.C. gives many rules which have no significance except in connection with living speech. Both Yaska ( यास्क ) and Panini ( पाणिनि ) mention the peculiarities of the Easterners and Northerners. Katyayana ( कत्यायन ) refers to the logical divergences and Patanjali specifies words occurring in single districts only. There is thus no doubt

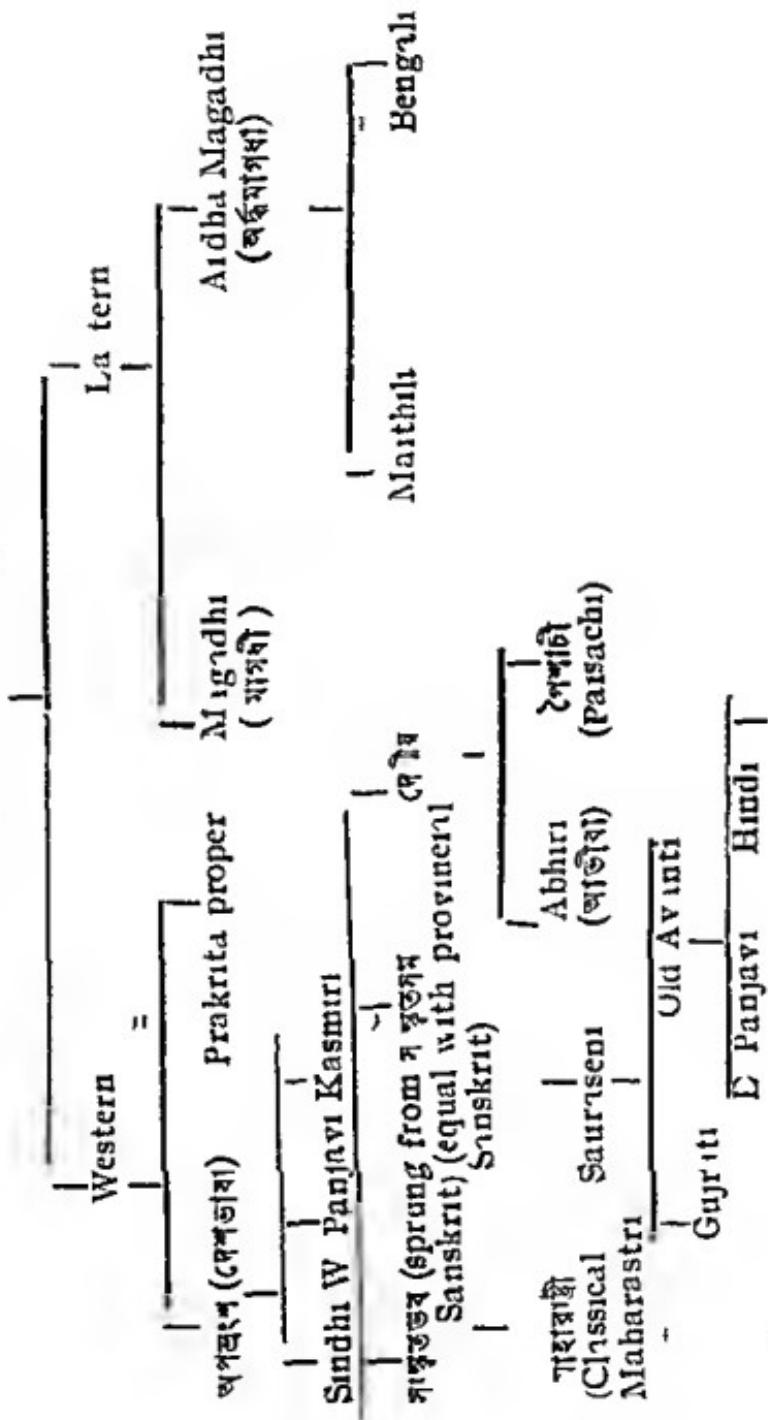
that till the second century B C Sanskrit was actually spoken in the whole country called Aryavarta ( अर्यावर्त ) The Brahmins or the Sistas ( फ्रिटे ) certainly did speak Sanskrit and educated men of other communities spoke it for in the Nahabhashyn ( नाहाभाष्य ) we read of a head groom disputing with a grammarian about the etymology of the word ( शूत ) (charioteer) This agrees with the distribution of the dialects in Sanstrit dramas a distribution no doubt based on a tradition much older than the plays themselves Dr Winternitz says that Sanskrit is not a dead language even today To this very day it is the language in which Indian scholars converse on scientific questions In fact Sanstrit plays the same part in India as Latin in middle ages in Europe or as Hebrew with the jews

**The Prakrits** The name Prakrit ( प्राकृत ) denotes its origin from Sanskrit ( संस्कृते नीच्या भवेति ) But authors on dialectics are of opinion that Prakrit means what comes from nature ( प्राकृत ) at once i.e what people without special instruction can easily use and understand But according to grammarians and writers on poetics the term more specially denotes a number of distinctly artificial literary dialects which were not vernaculars Sir George Grierson classifies prakrit in three great stages (1) Primary Prakrits of which the Vedic language and its successor Sanskrit are literary forms (2) Secondary Prakrits represented in pali literature in dramas and in the apabhramas ( अपभ्रंश ) of grammarians (3) The modern

Vernaculars. From Asoka's inscriptions we can deduce the existence of three dialects, that of the east used in the metropolis as lingua franca of the Empire, that of the north west and of the west. The dramas of Aswaghosha of the first century A. D. supply us with the old Ardha magadhi, old Sauraseni and old Magadhi types of the Prakrit dialect. In Jain works we meet with Jain नाशवादि and शोदर्वना. The बृहत्कथा ( Brihat Katha ) of Gunadhya was composed in Paisachi Prakrit. of the different types of Prakrit Maharashtra held in pre-eminence by its use in dramas Sauraseni was markedly more closely akin to Sanskrit than Maharashtra. The नृत्यशास्त्र ( Natya sastra ) of Bharata enumerates other dramatic dialectics ( विभावास ), such as the Dakshinatya ( दक्षिणात्मा ), Avanti ( अवन्ती ), दाक्षी ( Dakshi ) or Takkī ( varieties of Sauraseni ) and Chandali ( चांडली ), Sakari ( शकारी ) which are species of Magadhi. According to Sir G Grierson and Pichel almost all modern Vernaculars of our country have originated from the Apabhransa

## Classification of Prakrit

Prakrit (the oldest being tall)



## LECTURE 1.

### Kavya Literature.

Sources of the Kavya. We do not, indeed, find an original historian of Sanskrit literature. It might be that the appearance of the great poets of the calibre of Kalidasa, Bharavi, Magha and others so eclipsed earlier efforts that their works, nay even their names, passed into oblivion. Again the absence of literary remains for centuries before and after the Christian era and foreign invasions, the Greeks, the Parthians, the Sakas and the Yuchihi, so deeply affected north west India that it gave an appearance of reason even to such a scholar as Professor Maxmuller to come to the conclusion that there was a comparative cessation of literary activity in India until the sixth century, which is now totally discredited. Besides the theory of a Prakrit period of Indian literature preceding the Sanskrit period is also to be discarded as it is founded on no evidence of value. The causes of the rise of Sanskrit literature are obvious and there was no need for writers in Prakrit to set an example. In fact the simplicity of the early epic gradually yielded to greater art. The Upanishads show us kings patronizing discussions between rival philosophers and rewarding richly the successful. They were indeed, no less eager to listen to-

panegyrics of themselves or their family and bestow guerdon not less lavishly. The gnomic utterances preserving some Vedic specimens in the Aitareya Brahmana (ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण) naturally shared in the cultivation of the lyre and the elaboration of verse reacted on prose style inducing writers to seek to reproduce in that medium some thing of elegance after which poets habitually strove. There was then no breach in literary continuity and in spite of the fact that so much has perished we have indisputable proofs of active cultivation of Sanskrit literature during the period from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.

The Ramayana, the earliest Sanskrit epic, with all later additions and interpolations as we have it affords us an illustration of the process of refinement which style was undergoing. But we can not but realize that even in its original form the poem must have shown a distinct tendency to conscious ornament.

The mere theme—the blending together of two distinct legends—the court intrigues of Ayodhya and Rama-chandra's war on Ravana on account of the rape of Sita, is the work of an artist and the same trait is revealed in the conformity of the language and the delicate perfection of the metre, when compared with the simpler and less polished Mahabharata. Saint Valmiki and those who improved on him (probably 400—200 B.C.) are clearly the legitimate ancestors of the delicate artistic court epic.

**Epics** Two classes of epics Sanskrit epic falls into two main classes They are popular national

epic and artistic ornate court epic The popular national epics comprise (a) Itihasa ( ইতিহাস ), (b) Akhyana (আখ্যান ), (c) Purana (পুরাণ) and (d) Kavya (কাব্য) They were composed for sung and recited before the public national assemblies by rhapsodists who might themselves be poets extempore or might sing or recite poems of other poets. The great national epics were the Mahabharata the 18 puranas and the Ramayana. The national epic seems to have been cultivated more in those regions where the worship of Vishnu as the highest deity prevailed. The court epics were composed for and recited in the courts of princes before the courtiers who were erudite scholars. They were the works of Kalidasa, Bharavi, Magha & c Ananda-Vardhana ( আনন্দবৰ্ধন ) in his Dhwanyaloka ( ধৃণ্যালোক ) has contrasted the object of the artistic court epic with that of the popular national epic. The latter according to him is content with narrating what has happened, while the former is essentially dependent on form The Ramayana, in his opinion, occupies an intermediate place and its formal merits are not slight The Ramayana is not given to erotic description and its tone is grave and serious Direct evidence of the production of secular Sanskrit literature before the second century B C is afforded by testimony of the Mahavhashya (মহাভাষ্য) of Patanjali. Again from Rajashekhar we know that the great grammarian Panini composed the epic জাম্ববতী বিজয় ( Jamvavati Vijaya ) He has been said to be the author of another epic পাতাল বিজয়. Pingala, the earliest writer on

prosody, refers in his *सूत्र सूत्र* (*Sundhas sutra*) to many verses of epic lyric and gnomic descriptions. In short, there was the existence of two streams of movement, the Sanskrit of the Brahmanical schools is summed up in Panini's grammar and the less formal language of the ruling class and the Brahmin in their entourage as shown in the popular epic.

**The Mahabharata** In its present form the *Mahabharata* consists of about 100 000 slokas (95826 actually found in the Bombay edition but according to Sauti's recitation 96826) and is the longest poem known to literary history. It is a conglomerate of epic and didactic matter divided into 18 books called *parvan* (पर्वन्) with a nineteenth the *Hari Vamsa* (हरिवंश), as a supplement (संग्रह). All these 18 books excepting the 8th and the last three are divided into subordinate books (प्रापर्वन्) each book being also cut up into chapters (अध्यायः).

The full table will show the number of chapters and stanzas in the 18 parvans as Sauti has given them in chapter I of the *Adiparvan*.

Names of Parvans	Number of chapters & slokas as recited by Sauti	
	chap	slokas
1 Adi Parvan	227+7	8884
2 Sabha Parvan	73+8	2511
3 Vanî Parvan	269+45	11664
4 Virata Parvan	67+5	2067
5 Udyoga Parvan	186+12	6694
6 Bhishma Parvan	117+5	5884

7. Drona Parvan	170 + 31	8907
8 Karna Parvan	69 + 27	4964
9. Salya Parvan	59 + 6	3220
10. Sauptika Parvan	11	870
11. Stri parvan	27	775
12. Santi Parvan	365	14332
13. Anusasana Parvan	168	8000
14 Aswamedha Parvan	92	3320
15. Asramavasika Parvan	39	1506
16, Maushala Parvan	8	320
17 Mahaprasthanica Par.	3	320
18 Swargarohana Parvan	6	209
19 Harivamsha ( খণ্ড )	3	16000

Three Stages of development of the Mahabharata : The Mahabharata in its present form is the second amplification of an originally much smaller work. Saint কৃষ্ণপাতন পারাশর্য ব্যাস ( Vyasa ), the author of the original work, taught it to his five pupils, one of whom was saint Vaisampayana ( বৈশম্পায়ন ) The latter saint recited the poem before king Janmejaya ( জন্মেজয় ) at the time of the Sarpa Satra ( serpent sacrifice ) performed by him Now, in the Mahabharata there are several questions asked by king Janmenjaya and the saint Vaisampayana gives their suitable replies. These questions and answers could not have formed part of the original epic composed by saint Vyasa We must presume that saint Vaisampayana or some one who listened to the recitation and the dialogue amplified the original work. Then again, this amplified Bharata was recited by Sauti Ugrasravas ( i. e.

Ugrasravas son of Lomaharshann, a Suta by caste ) before Saunaka in his twelve years sacrifice and there too questions were asked by Saunaka and answered by Sauti These could not have formed part of the original work nor of the amplified edition of Vaisampayana We must then presume that Sauti or some one else who listened to his recitation amplified the original work a second time We have further the statement that the work had three beginnings Some believe that the Mahabharata begins with Uparichara others with Astika & whilst others with Mann মহাদি ভারত ক্ষেত্র আতিকানি তথাপরে । এ পাণবিজ্ঞান  
৬২ বিশ্বা সম্মগ্ন অধীক্ষণ । আদিগঠন । 1 52

The original work The original epic was a history and not a didactic work and the name given by saint Vyasa to his history was Jayn ( জয় ) i.e triumph The first verse of invocation contains a mention of this name ( রত্তোঘস্য উদ্বাগ্ন ) We have the same name again in the last Parvan also ( অঞ্চল নামের দশমাশ্রম ) Saint Vyasa composed his poem in three years working day and night It would be natural to expect that the saint Krishna Dwaipayana Parasarya Vyasa would begin his work with an account of himself and the idea that Bharata really begins with উপরিচয় (Uparichara) seems very justifiable In the chapter preceding the 63rd Chapter which begins with গ্রাজোপরিকরণাত্ম or a praise of the Mahabharata and some facts about its composition are given by saint Vaisampayana which clearly shows that these 62 chapters in the Adiparvan are later

additions. This does not, of course, mean that the work subsequent to chapter 62 is in the words of saint Vyasa.

**Second Edition :—**The second edition of the text was that of saint Vaisampayana, Vyasa's own pupil, who was taught the work (शिष्य) along with Sumanta, Jaimini, Paila and Vyasa's son Suka Deva. There is a statement in the Bharata itself that each one of these five pupils of the sage published a different edition of the Bharata. But Vaisampayana's version is the only one now preserved to us, though we have one doubtful Aswamedha Parvan (अश्वमेधपर्व) under the name of Jaimini. All the different versions of the Bharata appear to be extant in the days of Aswalayana (अश्वलायन) who has enumerated all these five rishis (seers) as भारतात्रीज्ञस or editors of the Bharata. The extent of Vaisampayana's Bharata appears to have been 24000 verses, for there is a stanza in the Maha Bharata that the Bharata Sanhita was composed to that extent Vaisampayana would naturally begin his version with an account of King Janamejaya and the sarpa satra where he recited his poem and thus we have the second beginning assigned to the Mahabharata viz., with the Astikopakhyana. Vaisampayana transferred the name from Jaya to Bharata.

**Third Edition** The third edition of the epic was that of Sauti Ugra Sravas, son of Lomaharshana, who recasted and elaborated the work of Vaisampayana in about one hundred thousand stanzas.

(ଆଦିପର୍ବ 107) 'The third beginning of the epic was with the word manu. There is of course no stanza beginning with Manu in the Adiparvan but the commentator takes it as identical with Vaivaswata (ଦୈତ୍ୟତ ଆଦିପର୍ବ 1) This edition has come down to us nearly in the form which Sauti gave to it. The present Maha Bharata contains about one thousand stanzas less than the number given by Sauti (JG 836) though additional stanzas and chapters are found here and there. Sauti gave the work the name of Mahabharata and converted it from a history to a dharma sastra. Bharata and Mahabharatn are names separately mentioned by Aswalyayana.

**Division of the epic** Saint Vyasa's original historical work Jaya (triumph) was divided into parvans and adhyayas but it is impossible to enumerate their exact number. Saint Vaisampayana divided his edition of the epic (which he called Bharata) into 100 parvans. It was he who added the Harivamsa (ହରିବନ୍ଦ) to the original work. Hence the Hari Vamsa is called a ଶର୍ମଣୀ or supplementary work. Sauti adopted a new division for his bulky work ଶର୍ମଣୀ called Mahabharata and divided it into 18 parvans with a nineteenth including the Harivamsa which had already been incorporated into his Bharata by saint Vaisampayana. The Gita (ଭଗବତ୍ପୀଠ) too had been incorporated into the Maha bhnara long after.

**Date of the Mahabharata** The present edition of the Mahaharata can not be placed earlier

than 450 B. C. & later than 300 B. C. The earliest date assigned to the epic Jaya is that fixed by Prof. Modaka who finds that the vernal equinox at the time of the great Kurukshetra war was in Punarvasu ( पुनर्वसु ) and hence about 7000 years must have elapsed since then. Some astronomers following Barahamihira believe that the great war took place in 2604 B C. But European scholars on the authority of a sloka in the Vishnupurana hold that the great war took place about 1500 B. C. The orthodox Indian opinion, however, is that the war took place in 3101 B C., calculating on the basis of the generally accepted belief in India that in 1399 A. D. five thousand years had elapsed since the beginning of the Kaliage. The great Kurukehetra war is held amongst the Aryans of India as synchronous with the beginning of the Kaliage.

**Abstract of the Mahabharata.** ମହାଭାରତ ଦାସ composed Bharata manjari ( ভাৰত মঞ্জুৰী ) in the 11th-century in Kashmir and this is the oldest abstract of the Mahabharata.

**Commentators of the Mahabharata.** They are (1) Arjuna Misra ( অজুন মিশ্র ), Suryajna narayana ( সূর্যজ্ঞ নারায়ণ ) and Nilakantha ( নীলকণ্ঠ )

**Khila Hari Vamsa :** It is concerned with Krishna's family. It contains more than 16000 slokas and is divided into three sections. The first Hari-vamsa Parva describes the history of Krishna's ancestors down to the time of Vishnu's incarnation in him. The second Vishnuparva gives an account of

Krisn's exploits The third Bhavishya Purva treats of the satanic corruptions of the Kalinge

What is the Mahabharata ? It is not only an epic and a poem, nor is it one poetic production at all but it is rather a whole literature. Mahabharata means the great narrative of the battle of the Bharatas who are mentioned in the Rigveda as a warlike tribe and in the Brahmanas Bharata son of Dushyanta and Sakuntala, is regarded as the ancestor of the royal race of the Bharatas. The home of the Bharatas was in the country of the upper Ganges and the Jumna. From Kuru, an illustrious descendant of Bharata the land they lived in was called Kuru Kshetra while they themselves were called Kauravas. A family feud in the royal house of the Kauravas led to a bloody war of 18 days a truly internecine struggle in which the ancient race of the Kurus was almost entirely ruined. The history of this bloody war of 18 days was told in the epic Jayi (triumph) by saint Vyasa and gradually recasted and enlarged by saint Vaisampayana in Bharata first and then by Suti Ugrisravas in Anubhovita. Similarly in Homer's Iliod and in the Nibelungen song the tragedy of a terrible war of annihilation forms the actual subject of the heroic poem.

We find traces of epic poetry in vedic literature in the dialogue hymns of the Rigveda as well as in the akhyanas itihasas and Puranas of the Brahmanas the recital of such narrative poems forming a part of the religious ceremonies at the sacrificial and domes-

tic festivals. There were not only single ballads ( আখ্যানs, ইতিহাস ) but also cycles of ballads. There were professional story-tellers ( ঐতিহাসিক, পৌরাণিক ) in very ancient times. Besides, there was in existence an inexhaustible store of prose and verse narratives আখ্যান, ইতিহাস, পূর্বাণ and গাথা, forming as it were literary public property which was drawn upon by the Buddhists and the Jains as well as by the epic poets. Songs in praise of men ( গাথা নবাশঃসো ) are often mentioned beside the ইতিহাস and the পূর্বাণ and are the direct precursors of the actual heroic epic itself. The authors reciters and preservers of heroic poetry were the bards ( usually of the Suta caste ) who generally lived at the royal court and recited or sang their songs at great feasts in order to proclaim the glory of princes. They often went forth into the field of battle in order to be able to sing of the heroic deeds of warriors. There were also travelling singers called Kusilavas ( কুশীনব ) who memorised the songs and publicly sang them to the accompaniment of the lute and circulated the heroic songs among the people. It was the পুরোহিতs ( court-priests ) who like the শূক্ষs came more in contact with epic poetry. It was this less learned class of priests which later on furnished temple priests at famous holy places. The latest edition of the Mahabharata is a compendium of warlike heroic songs, of pious priestly poetry with dissertations upon philosophy, religion and law and mild ascetic poetry full of edifying wisdom & overflowing love towards man and beast. Thus the Mahabharata is an epic, a work of

poetic art ( काव्य ) a manual of morality ( गौतिशास्त्र ) law ( धर्म ) and philosophy ( दर्शन ) supported by the oldest tradition and furnished with uncontested authority In short the इतिहास called ऋषि of saint बुद्धदेवपात्रन पारामर्थ व्यास has been in course of time first changed to भारत by saint देखम्पत्र्यन and then into ए धर्मशास्त्र by गोति उपाधेन

**Age and History of the Mahabharata J**  
 Dahlmann proves that the Mahabharata is one unified work composed by one poet in pre Buddhist times both as an epic and a law book Sylvan Levi explains the Mahabharata as a deliberate composition organically and artistically spread around a central fact and inspired by a dominant sentiment which penetrates and permeates it He compares the Mahabharata with the Vinaya ( विभाषा ) the code of discipline of the मूलसर्वातिथानिन् ( Mulasarvastidin ) Buddhists and is of opinion that the whole great epic is based on nothing but a code of Kshatriya discipline as practised by the Bhagavatas But according to Dr M Winteritz any one who reads the whole of the Mahabharata is bound to admit that the present day text of the epic contains not only much that is diverse in content but also much that is diverse in value The very opening sections of the Mahabharata themselves give clear indications that the epic had not always its present form and extent The tables of contents of the epic tell us plainly it is not the work of one single author or of one time A Holtzman assumes that an ancient heroic poem of the kauravas existed which was the original Mahabharata that it under-

went a revision with a tendency in favour of the Pandavas and that it was then on several consecutive occasions—first by the Buddhists, then by the Brahmans—revised with a tendency. The second Purana-like revision must have taken place about 900 1100 A.D., after which followed, a few centuries later, the definite establishment and completion of the text.

**Summary of the gradual growth of the contents of the Mahabharata:** Single myths, legends and poems in the Mahabharata are Vedic. The historical epic Jaya and Bharata and the धर्मार्थ महाभारत had no existence in the Vedic period. Moral narratives and sayings in the महाभारत belong to ascetic poetry. An epic महाभारत existed bet 6th and 4th centuries B.C., but not known in the land of Buddhism. Bet 4th century B.C. and 4th century A.D., the epic Mahabharata transformed into the present धर्मशास्त्र महाभारत one date of the महाभारत does not exist, the date of every part is to be ascertained on its own account.

**The Puranas and their position in Indian literature:** Closely connected with the Mahabharata is a distinct class of eighteen epic works, didactic in character and sectarian in purpose, going by the name of Purana, all attributed to saint Vyasa. The term पुराण, in the Brahmanas, denotes cosmogonic enquiries generally and in the Mahabharata it means ancient legendary lore, implying didactic as well as narrative matter and pointing to an old collection.

of epic stories It has been very clearly defined in the Vishapuraas thus सर्वं अतिर्माणं वर्त्तते नद्यत्रिष्ठा वाशाहुचरित्तैव पूर्वाणं पक्षमन्दप् ॥ The Puranas are 18 in number Formerly they formed one of the 14 different branches of study for ones accomplishment as a scholar ( अद्वितीयोऽप्तारो वैमासानामविद्व । पूर्वाणं धर्माणं च विद्य द्युष्टान्ताम् ॥ ) But we do not get them all in their original form now The modern redactions of the Puranas will appear to be later than the Mahabharata Some of them in giving the history Nagadha come down to Chandra Gupta and Asoka may as far as the Andhra monarchs who ruled in the Deccan for some centuries after Christ

### Orthodox classification of the Puranas

(1) Those advocating the superiority of Brahman (the creator) or the quality of passion ( i e गुह्य ) leading to the attainment of heaven

- (a) Brahmaada Purana ( ब्रह्माद पूर्वाण )
- (b) Brahma Vaibarta Purana ( ब्रह्म वैवर्त पूर्वाण )
- (c) Markandeya Purana ( मार्कण्डेय पूर्वाण )
- (d) Bhavishya Purana ( भविष्य पूर्वाण )
- (e) Vnumaa Purana ( वामन पूर्वाण )
- (f) Brahma Purana ( ब्रह्म पूर्वाण ) or Adipurana ( i e the first Purana ,

(2) Those advocating the superiority of Vishnu (the preserver) and of the quality of goodness ( i e नीति leading to salvation —

- (a) Vishnu Purana ( विष्णु पूर्वाण )
- (b) Naradiya Purana ( नारदीय पूर्वाण )
- (c) Bhagavata Purana ( भगवत पूर्वाण )

- (d) Garuda Purana ( गरुड पुराण )
- (e) Padma Purana ( पद्म पुराण )
- (f) Varaha Purana ( वराह पुराण )

(3) Those advocating the superiority of Siva (the destroyer) of the quality of darkness ( तमः ) leading to death.

- (a) Matsya Purana ( मत्स्य पुराण )
- (b) Kurma Purana ( कुर्म पुराण )
- (c) Linga Purana ( लिङ पुराण )
- (d) Vayu Purana ( वायु पुराण ) or Siva Purana ( शिव पुराण )
- (e) Skanda Purana ( शंख शंख )
- (f) Agni Purana ( अग्नि पुराण )

The Puranas are said to consist of 400,000 slokas in all. The above orthodox classification of the Puranas is quite arbitrary. The Garuda and the Agni Puranas practically constitute abstracts of the Mahabharata and Harivamsa. The Vayu Purana coincides in part with the Mahabharata, but it is more closely connected with the Harivamsa. The Matsya Purana is also intimately connected with the same. The जलसा घर्षण is the least sectarian of the Puranas and the Vishnu Purana most closely corresponds to the definition of the Puranas. In fact, with the growth of sectarianism, the Puranas expanded according to the cult they advocated.

Besides the 18 Puranas, there is also an equal number of Upa-Puranas ( उपपुराण ) or secondary Puranas, in which the epic matter has become entirely subordinate to the ritual elements.

**Survey of Purana literature** —The Puranas belong to the Religious literature Indeed the Mahabharata for the greater part and the Harivamsa almost entirely are nothing other than Puranas and even the later books and sections of the Ramayana partake of the character of Puranas The Puranas indeed reach back to great antiquity and are rooted in Vedic literature The word Parana originally meant ग्रन्थम् आथानम् (old narrative) It is found in connection with itihasa (इतिहास) in Brahmanas and Upanishads In Atharva Veda beside the four Vedas the Purana is also enumerated According to Gautama Dharmi Sutra the king is to take as his authorities on the administration of justice the Vedas the law books the Vedangas and the Puranas The Puranas we have now are only recasts of older works of the same species viz of works of religious didactic contents in which were collected ancient traditions of creation deeds of the Gods heroes and saints and ancient ancestors of human race the beginnings of famous royal families and so on The last edition of the Mahabharata not only calls itself a purana but also begins exactly as the Purana texts usually begin, Ugrasravas, son of the saint Lomaharshana appearing as narrator According to Dr Winternitz it cannot be that all the Puranas originated in a single original Purana as a summed by Pargiter and others

The five characteristics ( पञ्चशृणु ) of the Purana viz (1) creation ( सर्ग ) (2) recreation or the periodical

annihilation and renewal of the worlds ( প্রতিমৃগ )  
(3) genealogy or genealogy of the gods and sages-  
( বংশ ), (4) The Manu-periods of time or the great  
periods, each of which has a Manu or primal ancestor-  
of the human race ( মধুরাত্ন ) and (5) history of the  
dynasties or the early and later dynasties whose  
origin is traced back to the sun ( i.e, the solar dynasty )  
and the Moon ( i.e. lunar dynasty ) ( বংশামুচ্চরিত ) form  
only partly the contents of the Puranas handed down-  
to us, some of them even containing much more than  
what is included in the five characteristics, while  
others scarcely touching upon these subjects, but  
dealing with different things Sectarianism or de-  
votion to the cult of some god or other of Brahman,  
Vishnu or Siva, is specially significant of almost all  
the Puranas we have now. In most of them there-  
are also considerable sections on the rights and duties  
of the castes and of the asramas, on the general  
Brahmanical rites &c The Puranas are ascribed  
to saint Vyasa who is said to have lived in the  
beginning of the Kaliyuga ( কলিযুগ ) contemporaneously  
with the heroes of the Kurukshetra war. In  
several of the Puranas, however, the royal dynasties  
of the past are followed by lists of the kings of the  
future in the form of prophecies In the list of the  
future kings we find mention of the dynasties of  
Sisunagas ( শিশুনাগ ), Nandas, Mauryas ( মৌর্য ), Sungas,  
Andhras and Guptas which are well known in  
history. Amongst the Sisunagas are Bimbisara and  
Ajata Satru who were contemporaries of Mahavira

(the founder of Jainism) and Gautam Buddha (the founder of Buddhism) 6th to 5th century B C , and with the Maurya monarch Chandragupta who came to the throne in 322 Bc we emerge into clear daylight, of Indian history According to V A Smith the Vishnupurana is very reliable as regards the Maurya dynasty, the Matsya puraoas as regards the Andhra dynasty and the Vayu puraoas as regards the gupta monarch chandra Gupta I At the end of the list of future kings these puraoas enumerate a series of dynasties of low and barbarian descent (Sudras and Mlechchhas) such as the Abhiras the Gaudabhas the Sakas the Yavanas the Tushiras the Hunas &c All these lead us to conclude that the Puranas came into being before the 7th century A D , for neither later dynasties nor later famous rulers such as Harsha occur in the list of kings The Buddhist Mahayana text Lalita vistara (लालितविश्वास) not only calls itself a purana but really it has much in common with the Puranas The महायानाशीक the कार्त्तव्याह and even some passages of the गृह्णत्वा remind us of the sectarian Puranas The sāṃkh Jains also composed 1 utanas from the 7th century onwards The opinion of western scholars that our Puranas belong to the latest productions of Sanskrit literature is quite untenable for the poet Baoabhatta (about 625 A D) the Mimansaphilosopher Kumarili Bhutta (about 750 A D) and Srikantharya (9th century) speak of the Puranas as old sources of sacred law The Upapuranas are no

doubt works originated in the last thousand years. The erroneous opinion about the age of the Puranas may easily be removed by referring to their sectarianism in vaishnavism, Saivism and Brahmanavatva which go back to prechristian and perhaps to pre-Buddhistic times.

---

### TANTRA LITERATURE.

( *Sanhita, Agama, & Nigama.* )

The tantra ( दर्शन ) or the cult of the Saktis in the form of dialogue between Lord Siva and the goddess Parvati and occasional use of mystic syllables and formulas and prayers ( मूर्त्र ), diagrams ( वद्वार ), special position of the fingers and movements of the hands ( शृङ्खिला ) and placing the fingers and palm of the right hand on various parts of the body at the time of recitation of the mantras ( नामाकरण ) has been of high influence in Bengal, Assam and Nepal generally for a long time. The tantras appear to us in the forms of agama ( अगम ), nigama ( निगम ) or Sanhita ( संहिता ). They are not positively hostile to the Veda, but they tell us plainly that the precepts of the Veda being too difficult for the Kali age an easier cult and an easier doctrine have been revealed in them. Again the tantras are accessible not only to the twice born.

( रिष्ये ते वृत्तिः वृत्तिः वृत्तिः वृत्तिः )  
 alooe but to Sudras and women as well. Again they contain secret doctrines which can only be obtained from the guru ( गुरु ) after a ceremonial initiation ( निष्ठा ) and which cannot be communicated to any person who is not initiated. A complete tantra ( संहिता ) consists of four parts viz knowledge ( ज्ञान ) meditation and concentration ( ध्याय ), action ( क्रिया ) and conduct consisting of rites and festivals ( चर्चा ). The tantras are generally in the form of dialogues between Lord Siva and Parvati. They are called Agamas ( आगम ) when the godde s Parvati asks questions as a pupil and Lord Siva replies like the teacher and when the goddess is the teacher and answers Lord Siva's questions they are called ( निगम ) Nigamas. The Mahanirvana tantra ( महानिर्वाण तन्त्र ) is the best of all the agamas. The final goal is moksha or mahanirvana or final salvation. The path of salvation can only be found through the tantras for the Veda Smriti the puranas and the itihasyas were the sacred books of the golden ( शशी ) silver ( चेत्री ) and copper ( धापके चूपी ) of world & existence where as the tantras were revealed by Lord Siva for the welfare of humanity for the iron age ( कलियुग ). The puranas maintain a certain connection with epic poetry and one repertory of Indian legend poetry while the tantras bear the stamp of purely theological works teaching the technicalities of the cult of the sects together with their metaphysical and mystic principles. In short the sahitas may fairly be called the sacred books of the Vaishnava.

vas, the Agamas those of the Saivas and the nigamas those of the Saktas. The word tantra is generally used to mean the three. It was Sir John Woodroffe, under the name of Arthur Avalon, who by a series of essays and publications of the most important tantra-texts has enabled us to form a just judgment of its religion and literature. The agamas belong to the Saivas and they are 28 in number. The Sanhitas belong to the Vishnuite Pancharatra sect. There are 108 Pancharatra Sanhitas enumerated in the list. one of the earlier of these Sanhitas is the Isvara-Sanhita quoted by Ramanuja's preceptor Yamunacharya who died in about 1040 A. D. Ramanuja himself quotes the Paushkara, Parama and Sattwata Sanhitas. Narada Pancharatra with the Brihad Brahma Sanhita and Gnanamritasara ( ज्ञानमृतसार ) Sanhita is of later date. The tantras had their original home in Bengal whence they spread throughout Assam and Nepal and even beyond India to Tibet and China through the agency of Buddhism. The भवनिर्वाणशङ्क is the most popular treatise on Saktism. The final goal of all Indian sects and systems of religion is moksha or salvation i.e. becoming one with the deity in maha-nirvana, the great extinction. The perfect saint ( the क्रोन ) who sees everything in the Brahman and the Brahman in everything, attains this state even in this life and is released though living ( जीवभूक् ) The path of salvation can be found through the tantras for the Vedas, the smritis, the Puranas and the itihosas were the sacred works of bygone ages of

the world's existence and the tantras were revealed by Siva for the welfare of humanity for the kali age. The Mahairvna tantra also teaches a philosophy not different from the orthodox systems of the Vedaots and the Sankhya. The puraoas nor the taatras make enjoyable reading as they are works of inferior writers and are often written in barbarous and ungrammatical Sanskrit. But they cannot be passed by in silence for these writings are the spiritual food of millions of Indians.

**The Ramayana** Both a popular Epic and an ornate poem. In its present form the Ramayana consists of about 24000 slokas and is divided into seven books (सप्तकाण). The Kāmerita poet Kshemendra व्यासदिसी (व्यासद्वयाग सूत्र) made a poetical abstroet of the Rāmāyana called Rāmāyana kītha manjari (रामायण कथा मञ्जरी) in the 11th century. Bhojīraja (भोजीराज) of Dhūri composed another epitome called Chāmpu Rāmāyana (चाम्पु रामायण) about the same time. The Rāmāyana differs from the Māhabharata in more respects than one. It is much shorter and of much greater uniformity. While the Māhabharata in its present form can scarcely be called an actual epic, the Rāmāyaona even in the form in which we have it is still a fairly unified heroic poem. The authorship of the Rāmāyana is attributed to saint Valmiki and we cannot have any reason to doabt that a poet of this name really lived and first shaped the ballads, which were scattered in the mouths of the bards, into the form of a unified poem. Saint Valmiki is called the

first kavi ( i.e. first author of artificial ornate poetry ), and the Ramayana is called the first artistic ornate poem ( अस्त्रिका ). Indeed we find the first beginning of greater attachment to the forms than to the matter and contents and the use of figures of speech and other peculiarities of the classical ornate poetry in the Ramayana. While we find in the Mahabharata a mixture of popular, national epic and theological didactic poetry ( प्राची ), the Ramayana is a work that is both a popular, national epic and an artistical classical ornate poem. In fact it is a true, popular epic like the Mahabharata, as it is, like the Mahabharata, the property of the whole Indian people. Rama-chandra, the hero of the Ramayana was later made into an incarnation of the God Vishnu. It is the very popularity of the Ramayana, like that of the Mahabharata, which was a high reason of its appearing to us in the present form of different interpolations.

**Valmiki's original and interpolations:** Valmiki's Ramayana originally consisted of five books ( II—VI ). Book VII ( उत्तरायण ) was undoubtedly added later to the work. It has also been recognised that the whole of book I ( आदिकाण ) can not have belonged to the original work of saint Valmiki. Not only there are numerous internal contradictions in the book, but the language and style, too, stand out as inferior to those of books II—VI. Moreover, in the genuine parts of the poem, there is never any reference to the events in Book I; in fact there are details in this book

which directly contradict the statements of Inter books Only in books I and VII is Ramachandra considered as a divine being an incarnation of Vishnu In books II—VI, apart from a few passages which are interpolated (such as the marriage of Lakshmana &c ) he is always only a mortal hero where mythology enters into the genuine parts of the poem it is not Vishnu but Indra who is in the Veda is regarded as the highest god It is characteristic of books I and VII that the thread of the narrative is frequently interrupted There are only very few passages in books II—VI (e g at the beginning of book III) where this kind of interruption occurs also The Ramayana was orally transmitted for a long time through centuries in the circles of travelling singers or minstrels like the brothers Kusa and Lava who regarded the epic as their own property, with which they took every kind of liberty The Ramayana like the Mahabharata received a more or less definite form when it was written down There are now three different recensions of the Ramayana They are the Bombay recension the Bengal recension and the North western recension But none of these recensions gives us an original text of the Ramayana There is a poetical abstract of the Ramayana in the Bana *pārvā* (বনপর্ব) of the Mahabharata which is quite unaware of the Uttara Kanda (উত্তরকাণ্ড), nre nothing of Sita's exile or Lakshmanas marriage Besides the current edition of the Ramayan 'a begins with an account of saint

Narada's version of Ramachandra's life and doings which supplied saint Valmiki with all the materials of his poem Narada's account tells us plainly that the Ikshwaku-monarch Ramachandra was contemporary of saint Valmiki and in it there is no mention of Lakshmana's marriage, nor of Sita's exile. The exaggerated accounts of the different interpolations are not found there.

**Origin of the Ramayana.** The Ramayana arose in Kosala, the country ruled by the Ikshwakus (इक्ष्वाकू) in Ayodhya (अयोध्या). The hermitage of the poet also lay on the bank of the Tamasa ('Tons) a small tributary of the Ganges. From canto I of the adikanda we distinctly know that saint Valmiki, the poet, was very eager to be acquainted with the history of an ideal monarch to be able to compose a poem and that he was told of the Ikshwaku monarch, Ramachandra, his contemporary sovereign of Ayodhya, by saint Narada who was then his guest. Then he composed the Ramayana from the materials supplied by the sage. The poem was recited by his pupils Kusa and Lava who sang them every where and before his majesty Ramachandra himself. It was the first epic after the Vedas.

**The age of the Ramayana.** The Ramayana even in its present form is older than the Mahabharata. The Ramayana being so much shorter, required a shorter time for its gradual growth than the Mahabharata. A few scholars have declared the Ramayana to be the earlier of the two epics, because:

the burning of widows does not occur in it whilst it is mentioned in the Mahabharata Jacobi says that the Mahabharata only became an epic under the influence of the poetic art of Valmiki The battle scenes of the Mahabharata read quite differently from those described in the Ramayana Those in the Mahabharata give the impression that the poet belonged to a rough race of warriors and had himself seen bloody battle fields while those in the Ramayana sound rather as though a story teller is relating battles of which his only source of information is the reports he has heard There is not that embittered hatred that fierce resentment between Ramachandra and Ravana Lakshmann and Indrajit as in the Mahabharata when we read of the battles bet Arjuna and Karna or Bhima and Duryodhan Sita of the Ramayana when stolen, abducted and persecuted by Ravana or rejected by Ramachandra always maintains a certain calmness and meekness in her accusations and lamentations, and in her speeches there is not a trace of the wild passion which we so often find in Draupadi of the Mahabharata Kunti and Gaudhari too are true hero-mothers of a warlike race while Kausalya and Kaiknyi can rather be compared with the stereotyped queens of classical Dramas This shows that the Mahabharati belongs to a ruder more warlike age while the Ramayana shows traces of a more refined civilisation The Mahabharati belongs to the west of India and the Ramayana to the East

Dr. Winternitz concludes that the original Rama-yana was composed by saint Valmiki on the basis of ancient ballads, that there can be no question of Greek influence in the Rāmayana and that the genuine Ramayana betrays no acquaintance with the Greeks. There are no obvious traces of Buddhism to be seen in the Ramayana and that the ancient Buddhist texts of the Tripitaka betray no knowledge of the Rama-yana, but contain traces of ballads in which the Rama-legend was sung. The original Ramayana was completed at a time when the epic kernal of the Mahabharata has not yet been thought of. The Ramayana must have been generally known as an old work long before the Mahabharata assumed a coherent shape. The legend of Rama is found in a some what altered form in one of the Pali birth-stories (দশরথ জাতক). This version confines itself to the first part of Rama's adventures, his sojourn in the forest. There is an indication that the expedition to Lanka was also known to the author of the Jataka. Again the political conditions described in the Ramayana indicate the patriarchal rule of kings possessing only a small territory and never point to the existence of more complex states as in the Mahabharata.

**Two parts of Ramayana.** The first part describes the events in the court of king Dasaratha at Ayodhya and their consequences. If the epic says Prof. Macdonnel, ended with the return of Rama's brother Bharata to the capital after the old king's death it might pass for a historical saga. The second part of

( i e the expedition to Lanka ) according to him being based on a foundation of myths is full of the marvellous and the fantastic

Unfortunately no oriental scholar will agree with Prof Macdonnel in his queer theory. With all his erudition this view is very unhappy. Those whom he calls monsters and goblins are the aborigines of the soil who had been driven to the hills and the forests of the Deccan by gradual diffusion of Aryan civilization. The Vedas too speak of the aborigines as monkeys bears tigers &c from their mode of living in the caves and hollows of trees. Prof Mac also makes this mistake from his inability in identifying Lanka with some modern island in the Indian ocean. In fact if we trace Rāmachandra's way to Lanka we find it located somewhere near modern Australia. The Lanka expedition was not a myth. Rāvana the lord of Lanka was born of an Aryan father ( sage विश्वसू son of वृषभु one of the ancient patriarchs) and a non Aryan mother (लक्ष्मी or लक्ष्मी) He was educated as a Brahman but he inherited the evil propensities of his mother's relatives. He had two brothers and many sons amongst whom Meghanada or Indrajit was the eldest. He conquered as far as the divine regions of the Meru ( Altai regions). He carried away Sita wife of Rāmchandra on an aeroplane which he had carried off from his step brother Kubera lord of the Yaksha tribes Rama chandra with the help of the non aryan people of the Kishkindha valley who were then called Banaras and

Rikshas, proceeded as far as the sea-coast and by erection of a bridge reached Lanka, killed Ravana and his entire family through the help of Ravana's youngest brother Vibhishana and rescued Sita. He came to Ayodhya on the aerial car called Pushpaka with which he was supplied by Vibhishana who was crowned king of Lanka after the destruction of his brothers and nephews. Amongst the allies of Ramachandra, Sugriva, Hanuman, Angada, Nala, and Jambhavan, were of mixed origin like Ravana. There can not be anything incredible in the account. Researches show that the cape Kamarin was not the southernmost point of India, but there was a long promontory running northeast from the southernmost point of India which enabled Ramachandra and his party to advance as far as the seacoast just opposite the gold-bound island of Lanka. He crossed the sea and reached Lanka on erection of a bridge by his non-aryan engineer Nala.

**Views of different European scholars on the second part of the Ramayana :** (1) Prof. Lassen holds that it was intended to represent allegorically the first attempt of the Aryans to conquer the south. (2) Dr Weber says that the Ramayana was meant to account for the spread of Aryan culture to the south and Ceylon. But, says Prof Mac. this form of the allegorical theory lacks any confirmation from the statement of the epic itself, for Rama's expedition is nowhere represented as producing any change or improvement in the civilisation of the

south The poet appears to know nothing about the Deccan beynod the fact that Brahman hermitages are to be found there otherwise it is a region of the monsters and fabulous beings Hence the Professor says that there is much more probability in the opinion of Jacobi that the Ramayana contains no allegory at all but it is based on an Indian mythology The foundation of Part II says the Professor would thus be a celestial myth of the Veda transformed into a narration of earthly adventures Sita is Vedic furrow personified who is invoked in the Rigveda as a goddess In यजूर्वेद she appears again as a genos of the ploughed field and is called wife of Indra or अर्जनः the rājा god Rāma is Indra and his conflict with Rāvana the chief of the demons would represent the Indra Vritra myth of the Rigveda This is confirmed by the name of Rāvana's son being Indrajit or Indra Satru an epithet applied to Vritra Rāvana's most notorious feat the rape of Sita has its prototype in the stealing of the cows recovered by Indra Hanumān ( हनुमति ) the foremost of Rāma's allies in the recovery of Sita is described as flying 100 of leagues through the air to find Sita It is a reminiscence of Indra's alliance with the maruts in his conflict with Vritra and Indra's ambassador Sārama probably refers to the शार्मणी मर्त्य who coonsles Sita in her captivity to the Asoka bough at Lanla

## LECTURE 2.

Kavya, or ornate artistical court epic.

Professor Maxmuller's theory of renaissance of Sanskrit — The Indians, on account of the incursions of the Sakas and other foreigners, ceased from literary activity during the first two centuries A. D. In fact Sanskrit remained asleep as it were for about six centuries from the rise of Buddhism in the 4th century B.C. to the establishment of the Gupta Empire in the 3rd century A.D. In the middle of the 6th century A.D., the reign of King Vikramaditya of Ujjain, with whom tradition connected the names of Kalidasa (1) and other distinguished authors, was the golden age of Indian court-Poetry. This renaissance theory of Prof Maxmuller is based on Dr. Fergusson's ingenious chronological hypothesis that a supposed King Vikramaditya of Ujjain having expelled the Scythians from India, in commemoration of his victory, founded the Vikrama era in 544 A.D., dating its commencement back 600 years to 57 B.C.

Refutation of the Renaissance theory      Epi-

(1) ধৰ্ম গ্রন্থঃ শগণকোহমরনিংহশঙ্কু-বেতালভট্ট-ঘটকপূর্ব-  
কার্ণদাসঃ ।  
খ্যাতো বৰাহমিহিরো নৃপতেঃ সভায়ঃ গঞ্জানি বৈ বৰকুচি-  
ন্ব বিক্রমস্তু ॥  
জ্যোতিবিদাভগ্নম् attributed to Kalidasa.

graphical researches of Dr Fleet have destroyed Dr Ferguson's hypothesis. From these researches it results that the Vikrama era of 57 BC (called Samvat era) far from having been founded in 544 AD had already been in use for more than a century previously under the name of Maurya era (मायार्यादाक) It further appears that no Sikhs (Scythians) could have been driven out of western India in the middle of the sixth century AD for that country had already been conquered by the Guptas more than a hundred years ago. Again it turns out that though other foreign conquerors the Hunas were actually expelled from western India in the first half of the 7th century and that they were driven out not by यशोधर्म विन्दुवर्धन (Yashodharma Vishnu Vardhana) but by a king of the name of विश्वामित्र (Vishvamitra). Thus the great king Vikramaditya vanishes from the historical ground of the sixth century into the realm of myth.

Again from the Maha Bhashya of Ptinjili and the इति रुद्र of Pingali we know that Kavya (काव्य) flourished in their days and must have been developed before the beginning of the Christian era. Moreover the great epic (काव्याकाव्य) Buddhacharita (बुद्धचरित) of Aswaghosha who was contemporary of King Kanishka (कनिष्ठा) of the first century A. D corroborates that aushrit was not asleep but quite awake then. The काव्येश (panegyrics) of the Gupta period are of great importance here — (a) The poet Harisena's (हरिसेना) panegyric on his royal patron Samundra Gupta (समुद्रगुप्त) inscribed on a pillar at

Allahabad in the second half of the 4th century shows a mastery of style rivalling that of Kalidasa and Dandin. (b) The minister Virasena's ( वीरसेन ) inscription on his royal master Chandra Gupta II shows unmistakably that the Vaidarbhi ( वैदर्भीराति ) style of composition was fully developed by 300 A. D, (c) Vatsa Bhatti ( वा॑त्सभट्टि ) wrote an inscription in 473 AD in commemoration of a temple consecrated to the Sun at Dasapura (mod Mandassar ) A careful study of this inscription clearly shows that a rich Kavya ( काव्य ) literature existed in the 5th century A.D (d) Two important prose inscriptions, (in Kavya form ) one from Girnar under the महाकृतप षण्ठमन् and the other from Nasik, both belonging to the second century AD, show that a Prose Kavya literary style existed so far back as 200 AD All these evidences not only prove that the Sanskrit Kavya literature flourished before the christian era but show incontrovertibly that it did not go to sleep but continued to be cultivated throughout the succeeding centuries But it must be admitted that the real history of the Kavya or artistic ornate court epic does not begin till the first half of the 7th century A. D with the reign of king Harsha Vardhana of Sthaneswar ( स्थानेश्वर ) and Kanyakubja ( 605—648 A. D ). for the date of no Kavya before this land mark has as yet been fixed with certainty

**Principal artistic ornate court poets and a treatise on Ars Amoris.** 1. कामसूत्र (Kamasutra) of Vatsyayana ( वात्स्यायन ) is of uncertain date,

probably older than Kalidasa In Vatsayana we owe a vivid conception of the Indian parallel to the man about town ( नायक ) whose existence was due to the growing elaboration of Indian life and whose interest the poet was anxious to propitiate We find in it how the denizen of the town, ( नायक ) compelled by adverse fortune to vegetate in the country, seeks to find congenial society with which to continue the pleasures of his city life His home boasts all the luxury of the age, soft couches a summer house in a park and curtains strewn with flowers and swings to amuse the ladies who share and lend zest to his leisure moments Much of his time is devoted to toilet he must bathe in scented perfumed garlanded and teach the cage birds to speak or enjoy the brutal spectacle of ram or cock fights or in company of ladies of the demimonde he may visit the parks outside the town There are concerts to be attended, billets and theatrical spectacles to be visited He has a lute beside him so that he may make music when he will and a hook to read at leisure Bonn-companions and hangers on of various ranks the fags शूद्रःस and fagots शूद्रःप are essential to his happiness and drinking parties are not unknown but the ideal for his mere rude licence, with aims at elegance moderation and a measure of dignity He speaks the vernacular blended with sanskrit indicating his fine culture Hetairai are essential but they must be accomplished in art and learning with good manners Poets of repute with reward of skill

in panegyric and high poems are necessary in the royal court. In fact it was the duty of the king to bridge the gulf between wealth and poetic talent and of the poet to save his patron from the night of oblivion with his death. At royal courts poets vied in eager rivalry with one another. Monarchs, too, liked to claim renown for skill in poetry and dramatic art. We find the Gupta emperor, Samudra Gupta, strove for renown as a man of letters, the king Harsha, not only patronised Banabhatta, but claimed the authorship of dramas and poems, king Bhoja of Dhara, four centuries later, was more fortunate in the production of a large variety of his works. In 12th century, Lakshmana sen, the last king of Bengal, though not himself a poet, revived the glory of king Harsha's patronage to poets by being the patron of the famous Jayadeva, Umapatidhara, Dhoi, Govardhana &c. To a king, Hala or Sata Vahaña, is ascribed the anthology of Maharashtri verses called Sapta Sati and Vakpatiraja wrote his Prakrit epic Gauda vaha (গৌড়বাহ) for king Yasovarman of Kanauj, thus assuring him an immortality to survive his defeat at the hands of king Lalitaditya of Kashmere. The kings of kashmir often distinguished themselves by generosity to their laureates (কবিমাজ ) and to such enlightened activity we owe Somadeva's কথাসবিংসাগ্রহ. It was the patronage of king Kanishka (কণিষ্ঠ) which produced the great work of the court-epic, the 'Buddha charita' of poet Aswaghosha. Aswaghosha 'was famous both as a poet and a

philosopher He was originally a Brahmin adhered to the वैदिक school of Buddhism and afterwards became one of the fore runners of the Mahayana school The name of his mother was शूद्राणी and he was originally an inhabitant of Sileta

His works —(1) Vajra Suci ( वज्रसुचि ) consisting of no able and bitter attack on Brahmanical caste system is ascribed to him (2) Gandistotra gatha ( गोदावरीगात्री ) is a book on songs by him attesting his comprehension of the power of music besides it is an effort to describe in words the religious message carried to the hearts of men by the sounds produced by beating a long strip of wood with a short club (3) of later authorship is his Sutralalita ( सूत्रलिटा ) which is preserved in a fragmentary condition in Sanskrit. The tales are written in prose and verse clearly of the classical type. Here the author set out the substance of the Jatakas ( जातक ) and अदन्न ( abadannas ) (4) Buddhachirita ( बुद्धचिरिता ) a great Sanskrit epic originally in 28 cantos is known from Chinese and Tibetan Version while a complete account of the life of the Buddha but we have now only 17 cantos (5) Saundarainanda ( सौन्दरिनानं )—it was the first attempt of the Poet on Sanskrit epic The topic of the Poem is the legend of the conversion of the reluctant Nnanda his half brother by the Buddha a story recounted in the Mahavagga ( महावग्ग ) and the Nidanakatha but the poet deals with it in the approved manner of the later Kavya [ The existence of the Lalita vistara ( ललितविष्टरा ) during Asvā Ghatta's

time can not be proved, so that it can not be said that it influenced him in the choice of his source of the Saundarananda. Besides the Lalita Vistara is written in the main in Sanskrit prose of the plain type, intermingled with ballads in mixed Sanskrit of the Gatha style ]

### The Avadanas ( অবদানস. ) and later Poetry .

Connected with Aswaghosha is a mysterious Matricheta ( মাতৃচেত ) of whose numerous works fragments alone exist in Sanskrit. Amongst the avadana texts preserved the oldest is the অবদান শতক ( Abadana Sataka ) which was rendered into Chinese in the first half of the third century A D. Far more interesting as literature is the দ্বিজবদন ( Divyavadana ) a collection of legends like the Avadana Sataka, draws largely on the Vinayapitaka ( বিনয়পিটক ) of the Sarvastitwa-Vadin school of Buddhism. The gem of the collection is the pathetic legend of Kunala, son of Asoka, whose false stepmother succeeds in poisoning his father's mind against him and in having him blinded without his permitting himself either hate or reproach

আর্যশূর ( Aryasura ) and later Poetry জাতকমালা ( Jatakamala ) in Sanskrit of Kavya style by Aryasura edifies the anecdotes of Buddha's action in former births. It was a popular work amongst the Buddhists. The form of the tales, composed in prose with verses intermingled, is of historical interest. নাগার্জুন ( Nagarjuna ) of the latter part of the second century A.D. was the author of মধ্যমকারিকা ( Madhyamakarika ).

maka karika) and Aryadeva (আর্যাদেব) 250 A D, was the author of the Chatuh Satika (চতু শতিক) which shows considerable power of irony in his onslaught on the Brahmanical practice of bathing in the Ganges to remove sin and acquire merit. The শিষ্যালেখ ধর্মকাব্য (Sishyalekha Dharmakavya) of Chandragomin is a treatise on instruction in the form of a letter to a pupil dealing with the essential facts of the Buddhist faith. It had its predecessor in the সুহৃলেখ (Subrillekha) of নাগার্জুন (Nagarjuna) wherein the author summarizes the doctrine for a king. শিক্ষাসমূচ্ছয় (Siksba Samuchchaya) of Santideva (শিফেদেব) gives a sketch of the career of one who seeks to attain Buddhahood as opposed to the narrow Hinayana ideal of sainthood. Asanga, brother of Vasubandhu of the 4th century A D composed মহাযান সূত্রালঙ্কাৰ (Mahayana Sutralankara) in correct but undistinguished Sanskrit utterly overloaded with technicalities. On the early development of the Kavya welcome light has been thrown by Prof Luder's edition of the fragments found in central Asia of the বজ্রাভিত্তিকা of Kumralata (কুম্রালাতা) which is the true description of the work hitherto known to us through a Chinese translation as the Sutralankara of Aswaghosha. That work was quite different in character from Kumralata's. He was a younger contemporary of Aswaghosha who lived even after the death of king Kanishka.

Bharavi (ভাৱিবি) Bhatti (ভট্টি), Kumardasa (কুমাৰদাস) and Magha (মাঘ) Bharavi (ভাৱিবি) —

ranks second in magnitude amongst the constellations of the Kavya. From external evidence we know that he was older than 634 A.D., when he is mentioned with Kalidasa in the Aihole inscription and is cited in the Kasika Vritti ( काशिकावृत्ति ). He was strongly influenced by Kalidasa while he strongly affected Magha. Banabhatta ignores him. We should therefore place him in the second half of the sixth century A.D., only by less than a century earlier than Panabhatta. We have only his विग्रहाच्छालीम् in 18 cantos. It describes the combat of Siva in the guise of a hunter ( किरात ) and Arjuna ( अर्जुन ) the third Pandava and the latter's acquisition of the invincible weapon called Pasupata ( पाशपत ) through the grace of the former. The plot was taken from the Banaparvan of the Mahabharata. In spite of his high proficiency of epic poetry, Bharavi is guilty of errors of taste from which Kalidasa is free. Bharavi again sets a bad example in his fondness for showing his skill in grammar and he is the beginner of mannerisms in later poets. In metrical form Bharavi is as developed as he is in the use of the figures of speech.

**Bhatti** ( भट्टि ). He is the author of the epic Ravanavadha ( रावण वध ) more usually called Bhatti-Kavya ( भट्टिकाव्य ) in 22 cantos. He tells us in the 22nd canto of the Bhattikavya that he composed it in Valabhi (in Gujrat) under Sridharasena. Four kings of this name are known, the last of whom breathed his last in 641 A.D. we can not here ascertain which of the four was the patron of the poet, nor

can be identified with बत्साभट्टि (Batsa Bhatti) of the Mandasar inscription. The name Bhatti is practised from भट्टि and it is not surprising that in tradition he has been identified with भर्तुश्री or made a son or half brother of that famed poet. There is nothing however but the name to support the suggestion. He was imitated by Magha and was known to Bhāumaka. Bhatti's poem serves the double purpose of describing Rama's history and of illustrating the rules of Grammar. In the latter aspect the 22 cantos of the भट्टिकाव्य fall into four sections. The first five cantos illustrate miscellaneous rules (अनौपीकाऽ) cantos VI—IX the leading rules (अधिकार-काऽ) X—XIII are given to illustration of the ornaments of poetry (शृग्र काऽ) and the rest of the poem illustrates the use of the moods and tenses (दिग्दण्ड काऽ). Bhatti's work illustrates well his skill in both poetry and grammar. Bhāumaka the Kashmirian poet wrote रावणार्जुनिय (Ravāṇārjuniy) in imitation of Bhatti illustrating a grammatical poem but it was a quite unsuccessful work.

Kumaradasa (कुमारदास) He was a king of Ceylon (517—26 A.D.) and wrote the epic जानकीहरण (Janaki harana) in 19 cantos. It is an epic of rare merit and describes the incidents of the Ramayana. His majesty was a warm admirer of Kalidasa and imitated him in many respects in style subject matter and even in the use of figures of speech.

Magha (माघ) He is the author of the epic शिशुपालवध in 20 cantos the plot being adapted from

the Banaparvan of the Mahabharata. The poet tells us towards the close of his epic that his father was दत्तक मन्त्रार्थ (Dattaka Sarvasraya) and his grandfather सुप्रवदेव (Supravadeva) was the minister of a king whose name is variously read as वर्षमाल्य (Varma-lakhya), Varmalata ( वर्मात ) &c. There is an inscription of a king Varmalata of 625 A. D from which we may place Magha in the latter part of the 7th century. This accords satisfactorily with the fact that he is clearly later than Bharavi who, in a sense, was his model, than Bhatti whose मृहसूहः he trumps with किम् मृहसूह गततर्तुकः (ever and again they fainted, their husbands gone) and probably than Kumaradasa. He was acquainted with the Kāsika-Vritti of Panini's Astadhyayi together with the Nyasakara, referred to in canto II. 112. He knew of the नागानन्द of king Haisha and of the Vasavadatta of Subandhu. The poet Magha was a devoted Vaishnava, while Bharavi was a Saiva. The शिशपालवध describes how शिशपाल, lord of Chedi, son of Damaghosha and Srutavravas, was slain by his cousin ( मातृलेय ) Krishna. The plan and execution of the epic is based on those of the Kiratarjuniya. Bharavi magnifies Siva while Magha magnifies Vishnu.

### THE LESSER EPIC POETS

1. **Mentha or Bhartrimentha** ( मेठ or भर्त्रमेठ ), also called Hastipaka, is the author of हयग्रीववध (Haya-griva Vadha ) on account of which the Poet was highly rewarded by his royal patron Matrigupta.

He lived towards the latter part of the sixth century

2 शेतुबंध (Setu Bandha) or रावण वध (Ravana Vadha) ascribed to Kalidasa but most probably composed by the royal poet Pravarasena of Kasmere who succeeded Matrigupta. It is an epic in Palikrit and describes the construction of the bridge over the sea by Rama chandra and the destruction of Ravana. It was really composed by the royal poet to commemorate the building of a bridge of boats across the जिल्ला (Jhilum) by his majesty himself.

3 Ravanarjuniya (रावणार्जुनोदय) or आर्जुनरावपीड (Arjuna Ravanapieḍ) of Bhnumuka (also styled Bhima Bhuma or Blumaka) is an epic in 27 cantos and tells the tale of the strife between Kartavirya Arjuna and Ravana and illustrates rules of grammar. But it falls far below the Bhatti Kavya it imitates.

4 Kavirahasya (कविरहस्य) of Hihiyudha which is meant to illustrate the modes of formation of the present tense of Sanskrit roots and incidentally serves as a eulogy of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III (940 - 56 A.D.) is an epic of very low poetical merit.

5 Kapphanabhyudaya (कप्पनभ्युदय) based on a tale in the अवधान ग्रन्थ of the conversion of a king of the south who had harboured evil designs against the king of Sravasti (श्रावस्ति) was composed by निवासिन् in full epic manner manifestly under the influence of Mngha and Bharavi in style and structure. It is a Buddistic epic of the reign of Avanti

varman of Kashmir before the close of the 9th century,

6. **Hara Vijaya** ( हरविजय ) is an epic of the Kashmirian poet Ratnakara ( रत्नाकर ) with the styles राज नक and वाणीपत्र in 50 cantos under the influence of Magha. The author lived under Brihaspati or cipata Jayapida and Avantivarman about 850 A. D. The theme is the slaying of the demon Andhaka, born of Siva, by the God himself.

7. कादम्बोक्त्वास र ( Kadambari Kathasara ) an epitome in epic form of Bana's Kadambari, composed by Abhinanda, son of Jayanta Bhatta of Kashmir about the middle of the ninth century. The author mentions himself as contemporary of राजशेखर ।

8. **Ramacharita**, dealing with the history of Ramachandra from the rape of Sita, is an epic by another Abhinanda, son of Satananda of Kasmir.

9. In the eleventh century Kasmir produced the polymath गोमेश्वर. In 1037 A D , he wrote भारतनाथस्मृति and in 1066 A. D., he wrote दशावतारचरित, ( the 10 incarnations of Vishnu, ) wherein he celebrates the Buddha as the ninth. Of early date is his रामावधारस्मृति, an epitome of Valmiki's Ramayana which, like that of the महाभारत, is important for the history of the text. गोमेश्वर turned Kadambari also into verse in the पद्यकादम्बरस्मृति ।

12. In the 12th century Kashmir produced another poet मञ्च ( Mankha ) who composed the epic श्रीबर्थचरित ( Srikantha charita ) in 25 cantos telling the tale of the overthrow of the demon त्रिपुर ( Tripura )

by Siva He was a pupil of शुभेन्दु author of अलकार सर्वदा

13 The epic Haracharitachintamani ( हरचरित चिंतमणि ) of the Kashmirian poet जयरथ ( Jayaratha ) in the 12th century has some value for religion as a store house of Saiva myths and of evidence of Saiva practices and beliefs

14 Rāmipila charita ( रामपाल चरित ) of Sandhya kari Nandin is intended to refer in each stanza to the history of Ramachandra as also to king Rama pala at the close of the 11th century in Bengal

15 Raghava Pandaviya ( राघव पाण्डवीय ) of कविशास ( माधव भट्ट ) styled द्विषि or गोपित गत about 1000 A D relates by द्वेष ( double entendres ) simultaneously the actions of Ramachandra and of the Pandava priaces. The stories of the Ramayana and the Maha bharata are told at one and the same time

16 The राघव नैषधीय ( Raghava Naishadhiya ) of Haradatta Suri tells by double entendres ( द्वेष ) the tale of Ramachandra and Nila but it has not the merit of the राघव पाण्डवीय

17 The रसिकरथा ( Rasikaranjana ) of Rama chandra son of Lakshmana Bhatta who wrote in 1542 at Ayodhya, gives us an erotic poem in one way and a eulogy of asceticism in another

18 Naishadhacharita or Naishadhiya ( नैषधचरित or नैषधीय ) is a remarkable epic in 22 cantos of Sriharsha ( श्रीहर्ष ) son of Hiru ( हीरु ) and Mamalla devi ( मामलदेवी ) who wrote under विजयचंद्र and विजयचंद्र ( Vijayachandra and Jayachandra ) of Kanaug in the second half of the 12th century He was also author

of the খঙ্গনথ-খান্দজ wherein he establishes the reasonableness of the Vedanta by showing that all attempts at obtaining certainty are fallacious

19 যশোধরচরিত (Yasodhara charita) of Kanakasena Vadiraja, is a Kavya in 4 cantos with 296 verses composed in the 10th century.

20 বশতিলক (Yasastilaka) of Somadeva Suri of the 11th century

21 & 22 Pandava Charita (পাণব চরিত) and Mrigavati charitra (মৃগাবতা চরিত্র) of দেবপ্রভ শূরি are works of the 13th century.

23. মহীপাল চরিত in 14 cantos of ঢাকিএছন্দুর গণিন् is an epic of the 13th century

24. পদাচুড়ামণি (Padyachudamani) ascribed to the Pali scholar দুন্দুষোবাচার্য is a মহাকাব্য of high merit

— — —

### Lecture 3

### HISTORICAL KAVYA

### Beginnings of History

1 The Puranas contain, amid vast masses of religious and social matters, some traces of the activity of court-poets who made genealogies.

2 The Buddhists made some more serious approach to history in their legends of the Buddha , for example the মহাবংশ of মহানামন् in the 5th century A D.

3 The Jains too in their Pattavalis give us accounts of the tirthakaras

4 Poetic merit of a modest kind may be found from time to time in the inscriptions which are the most substantial early contributions to Indian history. The most valuable in this regard are the encomia prasastis of which we have noted specimens of the Gupta age.

5 We are carried further into the region of History by the Harsha Charita of Bana Bhatti of the 7th century. It is a historical prose romance about the poet himself and his patron King Harshavardhāna of Kanauj.

6 The गोडवर ( Gaudavaha ) of Vakpati Raja written in Maharashtra Prakrit to celebrate the defeat of a Gauda ( गोड ) prince by the Poet's patron Yasovarman ( यसवर्मन ) of Kanauj who himself was overthrown and killed not much later ( 740 A D ) by a king of Kashmir ( Lalitaditya ).

7 Navasahasraka Charita ( नवमासाहस्रित ) of Padma Gupta also called Parimala in 18 cantos was written about 1005 A D alluding to the history of king Sindhubrata Navasahasraka of Malava. It also gives us the mythical theme of the wianing of the princess मृशिष्ठा.

8 कर्णसून्दरी ( Karna Sundari ) is a drama by Bilhana in which the poet celebrates under the guise of the marriage of a Chaulukya prince to the daughter of a Vidyadhara king an actual wedding of his patron to a princess.

9. Bhubanabhyudaya ( ଭୁବନାଭ୍ୟୁଦୟ ) of Sankuka, according to Kalhana, describes the dreadful battle of Mamma and Utpala ( 850 A. D. ) where the current of the Vitasta ( Jhilum ) was stemmed by the bodies of the slain.

10. विक्रमांक-देवचरित ( Vikramanka deva charita ), a historical epic in 18 cantos by Bilhana in honour of his patron Vikramaditya VI, Chalukya king of Kalyana ( 1076—1127. ) who bestowed on him the gifts of a blue parasol and an elephant and thus chained him to his court

11. Kalhana of Kashmir, the illustrious poet of the history of Kashmere, tells us in his Rajatarangini ( राजतरंगिणी ) the chronicle of the kings of Kasmir from the earliest days. He consulted eleven works of former scholars as well as the still extant Nilamatapurana. The polymath क्षेमेन्द्र had written a नृपाबलि which Kalhana censures for want of care. The Rajatarangini is both an epic and a history.

### Minor Historical Kavya

1 Jalhana wrote an account of the life of the king of Rajapuri, in his सोमपालविलास ( Somapala-Vilasa ), शोमपाल who was conquered by Sussala

2 The virtuous but extremely dreary Jain monk Hemachandra ( 1088—1172 ) wrote गुणाबपालचरित or घ्याश्रमकाव्य in 28 cantos in honour of Kumarapala, the Chaulukya king of Anhilvad about 1163 A. D.

3 Kirti kaumudi ( कौर्तिकौमुदी ) of Someswara Datta ( 1179—1262 ), author of various inscriptions,

is a minor historical Kavya on the eulogy of Vastupala a minister of the princes of Gujerat

4 सूरथोत्सव ( Surathotsava ) in 15 cantos by the same author is a political allegory on Vastupala

5 शक्रान्तिन् ( Sankrita Sankirtan ) in 11 cantos of Ari sinha of the 13th century is historically useful as affording a check on Someswira deva

6 रामपालचरित of Sandhyakira Nandin describes the feats of the powerful king Ramapala of Bengal who recovered his ancestral throne from an usurper Bhima and conquered Mithila, reigning 1084—1130 A D

7 राजेन्द्रकर्णपुरी ( Rajendra Karuapuri ) of Sumbhn is a penegyric of Harsha deva of Kashmīr at whose court the poet wrote अग्निकीर्तनामा च

### Bhartṛihari Amaru Bilhana and Jayadeva

1 Our first great monument of Sanskrit lyric and gnomic verse after Kalidasa is found in the शतक of Bhartṛihari They are (1) खृष्णशतक in varied metres depicting pictures of love, (2) वैदिकशतक depicting indifference to things of sense and (3) नाटिशतक, depicting wise conduct The शतक contain stanzas from well known works such as the अस्त्राध्यात्मिका the अद्भुतानशृङ्खला the युग्माध्यात्मण and other works The author was the same as चर्चहरि author of the वाक्यान्वय, the last independent contribution to Sanskrit Grammatical science He was not a Buddhist but a Saiva of the Vedanta type to whom Siva appears as the most perfect presentation of the final reality the Brahman

**Amaru :** -ଆମୁଶତକ ( Amaru Sataka ) or a century of stanzas of the poet Amaru or Amaruka is presented to us in a very different condition in the manuscripts having from 90 to 115 verses. The ଶତକ was recognised by ଆନନ୍ଦବର୍ଣ୍ଣ ( 850 A D ) as a work of high repute and Vamana ( 800 A D ) cites it. Tradition tells us that the great Sankara animated for a period the body of a king of Kasmir of the name of Amaruka in order to obtain knowledge of the pleasures of love and the Sataka is the record of his experiences with the hundred ladies of the harem. Indeed the Sataka is a collection of pictures of love and it differs from the work of Bhartrihari in that while Bhartrihari deals with general aspects of love and women as factors in life, Amaru paints the relation of lovers and takes no thought of other aspects of life.

**Bilhana —ଚୌରାପଞ୍ଚଶିକା** ( Chaura Panchasika ) or more correctly ଚୌରୀଶୂରତପଞ୍ଚଶିକା ( Chauri surata panchasika i.e. 50 stanzas on a secret love ) is an interesting relic in the form of a poem by Bilhana. In two of the versions it is found ( i.e that of Kasmir and that of South India ) and it is embedded in a poem styled Bilhanakavya, in which it is asserted to have been composed to record a secret intrigue with a princess. Discovered by the king, the poet was sentenced to death and led out for the purpose, but his recitation of the glowing verses, in which he called to his memory for the last time the joys of their secret union, induced his majesty to relent and permit his marriage to the princess. The princess was Chandralekha.

-daughter of king Virasinha of Mahilapattana or she was शमिनोप्तिकाय, daughter of king वृनाचिन्द्र of Panchala. Besides the poem is an appeal to the goddess Kali का by the prince Sundara of Chaura pali when condemned to death by king Virasinha for his intrigue with the princess Vidya which was borrowed by the Bengali Poet Bharata Chandra in his illustrious Bengali Poem बिहारीलक्ष्मी. The Poet Bilhanा was a Kashmirian and had to live at a southern court.

**Jayadeva** In the court of Lakshmana Seni of Bengal belongs the last great name in Sanskrit poetry जयदेव son of Bhajideva of kindubilva with Govardhana Dhni Sarina and Umripitidharī as one of the five jewels adorning the court. We have preserved of him one tiny Hindi Poem a eulogy of Hari Govind, claimed to be the oldest in the adigrantha of the Sikhs and many legends are told in the Bhaktamala of his devotion to Krishna who himself aided him to describe the loveliness of Radha when his mortal powers failed. He is the reputed author of the perfect and very novel work of art, the Gita Govinda or Gita Govinda Kavya the poem in which Govinda, Krishna as lord of the herdsmen (both male and female) is sung. He is the over king of poets ( अविद्याभ्रात ) and his high qualities (of version) attracted the praise of the east and the west alike. Sir William Jones calls the गीता गाविन् a little pastoral drama Lassen calls it a lyric drama, while Von Schroeder prefers to term it a refined Yatra. The poet divides his

poem into cantos. The songs are given to us with precise indication by the terms of the melody (रङ्ग) and time (काल) of the music and dance they are to accompany. It was no doubt an immense original step from the popular songs of the Yatras to produce so remarkably beautiful and finished a work. The art of the poet displays itself in the mode of his blending the song and the recitative in the skill with which monotony of form is avoided by not restricting the recitative to mere introductory verses explaining the situation, while the songs express in their turn the feelings of the personnel of the poem, Krishna, his favourite Radha and the faithful friend, who is the essential confidante of all.

Classical poets see no harm in love-adventures of the greatest deities and what Kalidasa did in his कमाबद्धत्र was repeated by all his successors in one form or another. But the religion of Jayadeva was the fervent Krishna-worship which found in the God the power which is ever concerned with all the wishes, the hopes and fears of men, which, if in essence infinite and ineffable, yet expresses itself in the form of Krishna and which sanctions in his amours the loves of mankind. In this sense the Gitagovinda is deeply touched with the spirit of religion. All doubt and all scepticism are far from Jayadeva, to whom alike in his play with others and in his more abiding love for Radha and Krishna, He remained not merely divine, but the embodiment of the highest of Gods. The poem is a masterpiece and it surpasses in its completeness of

effect any other Indian poem Fondness of Ynmakas (not due to अङ्गार) led the poet to use rhyme in the Gitagovinda

### Lyric poetry and the anthologies

1 शृङ्गारस्त्रियक attributed on no reasonable ground, to Kalidasa consists of 23 stanzas of attractive pictures of love but they lack special distinction

2 Ghata Karpura in 22 stanzas describes how a young wife at the beginning of the rains sends a message by the cloud to her absent husband reverse of what is described in Kalidasa's वेष्टन्. The poem owes its title to the fact that the author at the close offers to carry water in a broken jar for any one who can surpass him in वेष्ट (ie alliterations consisting of repetitions in corresponding places of groups of the same letters). Hence there has been evolved the poet घटकर्पि who would thus have perpetuated his name by this wordplay. He was included in the list of the nine Jewels of king Vikramaditya's court. To Ghatakara para is ascribed a poem called नाट्याभ्यास in 21 stanzas.

3 सूर्योदयक (Suryasatka) is a lyric of Mayura (मयूर) who flourished at Harsha Vardhana's court in the 7th century and was the reputed father in law of Banahhatta. The legend tells us that the poet described so minutely the beauties of his daughter that she cursed him in anger and he became a leper from which unhappy state he was rescued through the aid of the Sun God by his eulogizing him in his सूर्याशुद्धक.

4 आर्यासप्तसती (Arya Saptasati) of Govardhana of

the court of king Lakshmana Sena is a lyric of not very high merit. The aim of Govardhana, as he himself insists, was to raise the Yamuna in the air in the shape of elevating the simple love-songs extant in Prakrit to the level of Sanskrit. His chosen medium is the Arya verse, and he has composed in this metre, which is borrowed by Sanskrit from Prakrit, seven hundred erotic stanzas, without inner connection, and arranged alphabetically. The poetry lacks the popular flavour which marks the Saptasati ( সপ্তাশতী ) of Hala who was no doubt the model of the poet here,

The anthologies ( কবিবিচ্ছন্মযুক্ত্য ) are the source of our knowledge of the poet Panini, the grammarian. Many poems are anonymous, while others are so variously ascribed by the anthologies that no weight can be placed on the names ascribed to them. কবিবিচ্ছন্মযুক্ত্য is an anthology in Nepal সংস্কৃতকণামৃত or স্বত্কৃষ্ণামৃত of শ্রীবরদাস is another anthology. জলহ্মস স্বভাবিতযুক্তাবলি and শান্তিধর পদ্ধতি are noted anthologies

### Religious poetry

Production of hymns of praise to Gods naturally did not cease with the Vedic poets, but they gradually led to the praise of Siva, Vishnu, Brahman, &c., the sectarian Gods. They were strengthened from time to time by the influx of praise to the Sun by sun worshippers from Iran

1 The চান্দীশ্তক (Chandisataka) of Bana-Bhatta in honour of the goddess Chandi is both a poem and a prayer for protection of worshippers in 102 stanzas.

2 ভক্তামর স্তোত্র (Bhaktamara stotra) of Manatunga or Matangi of the court of Harshavardhana in honour of the Jain saint Rishiva is a poem on devotion

3 It is difficult to realise that a religious motive is also present in the বক্রোক্তি পঞ্চশিকা (Vakrokti Panchashika) of the Kasmirian poet Ratnakara who in 50 stanzas shows a remarkable power of illustrating the ambiguities of the Sanskrit language

4 শিবাপুর ধন্দমাপণ স্তোত্র ভগবাংক আনন্দলক্ষ্মী দেবীশতক, অথবাইক সপ্তস্তোত্র &c are inscribed to Sankaracharya

5 দেবী শতক of পানদ্ব বৰ্ণন the writer on poetics (830 A D) is a nice piece of religious poetry

6 Utpala devas Stotravali was written about 925 A D It consists of a series of 21 short hymns in honour of Siva

7 Mukunda mala ( মুকুন্দমালা ) of দৈক্ষিয কৃষ্ণশেখর in honour of Vishnu was composed in the 10th century A D

8 শীর্ণাত্মক or বিষদদল in the 11th century A D produced his কৃষ্ণকৃষ্ণমৃত or কৃষ্ণলীলামৃত in 110 stanzas in honour of krishna It is a popular religious poem

### Prakrit Lyrics

1 Hala's Sattasai ( সপ্তসতী ) comes before us with a definite character of its own which was attempted to be imitated by গোবৰ্ণন The author was শাস্ত্রবাহন of the 1st or the 2nd century A D It is a folk poem in Maharashtri dialect

2 A later Prakrit anthology is the Vajjalagga of Jayavallabha n চেতামে জৈন

## Lecture 4

*Gnomic and Didactic poetry.*

India has ever delighted in the expression of pithy observations on life and morals. In the Rig-veda moral stanzas are incidentally preserved in surprising number in an episode of the ऐतरेय आक्षण् Such verses are seen in the Upanishads and the sutras, while the महाभारत is too rich both in gnomic and didactic matter. Patanjali knew such a literature and in the एत्यंदि of the Pali canon we have the finest collection of sententiae known in India. We see, in fact, the process at work in the case of the collections, such as the राजनीतिसमूच्य, the चाणक्यनीति, चाणक्यराजनीति, बृद्धचाणक्य, लघुचाणक्य &c. The number of recensions is extremely large. Other minor collections of gnomic stanzas are attributed to Vararuchi, to Ghata-Karpara and to Vetala Bhatta under the styles of नीतिवृश्छ, नीतिदाव, and नीतिप्रदोप, all of them containing some excellent stanzas. Of greater importance is the नीतिशतक of उत्तरहवि Under the avaricious king शक्रबर्द्धन् (883-902 A.D.) of Kasmir Bhallata wrote his शतक, carefully elaborated and in varied metres. Less original is the शान्तिशतक of another Kasmirian poet, Silhana, who had also worked in Bengal. He was an admirer of Bhartrihari and often borrowed from him, when he did not reproduce he altered in order to adapt the stand-point of an earnest Vaishnava to that of a Saiva like Bhartrihari. He was essentially bent on glorifying the merits of asceticism and there

is much in him that is common to all three great religions Hinduism Buddhism and Jainism शत्रु wrote under king Harsha of Kashmir 1089–1101) an अन्यकि मूलान्तरात् क in 108 elaborate stanzas of ordinary merit His राजदेवकर्मपूर्व was a eulogy of Har ha दृष्टान्तशतक of दृष्टमदेव illustrates each maxim by an example भावशतक of नारायण of the Tīkī family or of भाद्र his protege, and the उपदेशमूल of Gumanī are works of ordinary merit अमिंग in the 17th century wrote his भगवतीविलास admirable as an erotic poem an elegy and a store of gnomic sayings

The anthologies are equally rich in gnomic matter as well as in lyric stanzas चाचाक is the most famous

There is of course no clear line of demarcation between the gnomic and the didactic verse The easiest mode of distinction rests on the extent and degree of unity of conception and that permits of indefinite variety शास्त्रमेव स्वाक्षियावस्त्रात् is the most distinguished effort to adapt the elegances of Sanskrit poetry to the exposition of a complex philosophical and moral theme The शत्राणी of इश्वराज sets out with some wealth of imagery the principles of the वेदात् The दोहमूलात् on the other hand by the fire of its manner and the elaborate riming it affects is more lyric than didactic The कृष्णमैत्र of दामोदरकृष्ण minister of king शाहनीज of Kashmir (779–813 A D) is the interesting advice of a hetaira From the point of literary history it depicts a representation of Harsha's ऋग्वेदानी in an effective and realistic manner The नीतिवल्लभी of Dyadvī Veda (द्याविद्या) 1494 A D

illustrates some 200 Verses of maxims by tales culled from Siyana's commentary on the Rigveda. The মুঞ্চাপদেশ of Jalhana is a warning in 66 stanzas against the wiles of hetairai. Half a century younger than কেবলেন্দ্র was অমিতগতি whose সুভাষিতরত্ননন্দোহ (collection of jewels of happy sayings) was written in 994 A D, and his ধৰ্মপরীক্ষা, 20 years later. The former work, in 32 chapters, touches on the Various aspects of Jain ethics with an obvious polemical attitude towards Brahmanical practice and speculations. More important is হেমচন্দ্ৰ's ঘোষণাত্মক in simple শ্লোকs with his commentary in somewhat elaborate prose শৃঙ্খলাবৈৰাগ্য-তত্ত্বপিণ্ডী of দোষপত্র ( 1276 A D ) in 46 stanzas, denounces the love of women.

### DIDACTIC FABLE.

**Origin of Fable** From the earliest times of the life of the Vedic Indians in India tales of all sorts passed current among the people as fairy tales, Marchen, or myths or fables in early stages of their development. Whatever be the purpose in which Brahmins are compared to croaking frogs as they sing at their sacrifice in the Rigveda it is clear that we have a recognition of a certain kinship between men and animals, which coming out clearly in the Upanishads gives us the allegory or satire of the dogs searching out a leader to howl food for them, the talk of two flamingoes calling attention to Raikwa and the instruction of the young Satya-Kama first.

by a bull then by a flamingo and then by an aquatic bird. Then in the epic Mahabharata we find clear recognition of fables. Not only do we hear of the bird providing golden eggs but of the naughty cat deceiving the little mice by an appearance of virtue so that they delivered themselves into her power and we have a motif which certainly is strongly suggestive of the material whence developed the Panchatantra. The Buddhist too were already making use of the common belief in close relationship of men and animals and they illustrated the deeds of greatness of the Buddha and his contemporaries in births by relating beast stories. The fable we have in the Panchatantra is an elaborate production. It is essentially didactic and thus must consist in part of a tale but in part also of a moral or maxim of practical life. The fable is essentially connected with the नीतिशास्त्र and the धर्मशास्त्र dealing with man's action in practical politics and conduct of the ordinary affairs of every day life and intercourse. At no time can we regard the didactic fable as intended merely to extol cleverness without regard to morality there lingering around the work a distinct influence of the धर्मशास्त्र seeing that it was intended for instruction of the young princes and that the instructor was a Brahmin. The form of the fable is essentially dictated by its origin. The story is related in prose but the moral is fixed in the memory by being put in verse and it is natural that other didactic verses should be strewn in the tales. It is not possible to

speak of a Prakrit fable literature as being the precursor of the Panchatantra. The fable was of an independent creation in Sanskrit. The stories in the Panchatantra belong to the কথা class, though in one version it is called তত্ত্বাখ্যাত্রিকা ( কথা meaning stories and আখ্যাত্রিকা historical romances ).

**Origin of the Panchatantra and its reconstruction :** The original of the Panchatantra is now lost. But we can find our way back to the substance of the original by examination of the chief of its representatives present before us in four main groups. The first is the Pahlavi version made before 570 A D whereof we have before us an old Syrian and an Arabic version. The second is a version produced in north-west India, which was interpolated in the version of শুণাজি's বৃহৎকথা which formed the basis of the বৃহৎ-কথামঞ্চরী of ক্ষেমেন্দ্র ব্যস্তাস and of the বধাসরিণী, গৱৰ of সেনদেব in the 11th century. The third is represented by two Kasmir Versions styled তত্ত্বাখ্যাত্রিকা and by the two Jain recensions which derive their matter from a text akin to the তত্ত্বাখ্যাত্রিকা and some other unknown versions. Fourthly we have the common ancestor of the Southern Panchatantra, the Napalese পঞ্চতন্ত্র and the popular হিতেপদেশ, the latter two being derived from a version, sister to the southern পঞ্চতন্ত্র now lost and the হিতোপদেশ, in considerable measure, being derived from another source altogether. The name of the original was certainly পঞ্চতন্ত্র, but we can not say for certain what তত্ত্ব means here. Does it mean a book or does it indicate trick, specimen of sharp-

conduct or didactic or authoritative treatise ? Again does ପ୍ରାଚ୍ୟାନିକୀ denote a ପ୍ରକଳ୍ପ in the form of tales arranged in five books or an unauthoritative text book (for policy) in the shape of an ଆଧ୍ୟାତ୍ମିକୀ or a text book composed of instructive or didactic tales ? It is perhaps likely that ପ୍ରକଳ୍ପ meant originally five subject-matters as a title of a treatise dealing with five subject matters Of the state of the original it must have existed before the Pihlavi version was made and that it was composed as early as the 2nd century B C The author of the original was no doubt a Brahman but the name ବିଷ୍ଣୁଶର୍ମ (Vishnu Sarman) remains quite in the dark The author is described as relating the tales to the sons of king ଅମରାଧିତ୍ତ of Mahilaropya or Mihilaropya in the Deccan, which is a sign of its southern origin while the ହିତୋପଦେଶ is connected with Bengal

ହିତୋପଦେଶ (Hitopadesa) Among various descendants of the Panchatantra the Hitopadesa reigns in Bengal The author gives his name as ଗୁରୁମୁଖୀ whose patron was ଧ୍ୟାଚନ୍ଦ୍ର His mention of the term Sunday (ଶନୀରାତ୍ରି) as a day of perfect rest shows that it can not be until 900 A D Besides he was later than ପ୍ରକଳ୍ପ That he wrote in Bengal is made probable by the tale wherein he describes the worship of ଗୌରୀ (Gauri) very prevalent amongst the tantrikas of Bengal His purpose is given frankly as instruction in conduct and his sources are stated to be the Pauchatiutra and another anonymous book The political interest of the ପ୍ରକଳ୍ପ is fully maintained and Narayana borrowed

largely from the कामद्वय नीतिनाम् in addition to what he got in the पञ्चतन्त्र. From the Panehatantra Narayana derived the inversion of books I and II, but in books III and IV he went his own way.

**The बृहदरथा and its descendants :** One of our serious losses in Indian literature is the disappearance of the बृहदकथा (Brihat Katha) of Gunadhya which ranked beside the Mahabharata and the Ramayana as one of the great store-houses of literary art. We find it first named by Subandhu and Banabhatta in their works and by Dandin in his Kavyadarsa. Of his personality we have an account in three Kashmirian sourees, the बृहद वप्तव्याग्रह of देवेश वामदास, the कथासरितसाग्रह of मोगदेव and the हरचलित्तिष्ठानानि of अव्वरथ. From the above works we know that शुग्दा was born at Mathura, became in time a pandita in the court of king Madana of Ujjain, was vanquished by Sarva Barman and was advised to write in द्येशाची dialeet by a seer Pulastya and he composed the बृहदकथा and got it recited to king Sata Vahana by means of his pupils, who rejected the poem and hence in despair the poet threw the manuscripts in to the fire. The king then could save only one seventh of the 700,000 slokas of the original from fire. Gunadhya's time is uncertain, it was between the first and the 5th centuries A D. It is impossible to determine the exact context of the Brihatkatha. The sources on which he drew were three in number. The Ramayana gave him the motif of the search of a husband for a wife cruelly stolen from him soon after a happy marriage, from

Buddhist legends and other traditions of Ujjain and Kannimuli he was deeply familiar with the tales of Pradyota or Mahasena and the gallant and dashing hero Udayana whose love adventures were famed for their number and variety. He was also in touch with the many tales of sea voyages and strange adventures in far lands which were current in busy centres of Indian trade and with the abundant fairy tales and legends of magic current in India. Gnanabhyus influence is seen in the drama शशकटिक, in दण्डनुस अष्टमाचार्यिणी in somadeva Suris रथालिक and in धनामान्त्र दिग्ददर्शी युहूकथामोक्षाश्रय of बृहद्यासिनि —The manuscripts of this work are from Nepal. It is divided into cantos (पाँच) of which only 28 survive in 4539 verses. Though we have only fragmentary portions of the original still it is a genuine Sanskrit version of the युहूकथा. The युहूकथामोक्षाश्रय of क्षेमेन्द्र and the धनामादिसामाज्र of शोभदेव are the Kashmirian versions of the युहूकथा in Sanskrit. Kshemendra's युहूकथामोक्षाश्रय was produced in his youth like his जागरूकापत्री and धाराम यज्ञवली His abridgements are dry and sober reproducing faithfully, though with much omission and curtailment often to obviate their originals but depriving them of all life and attraction. But we can assume that his account of the contents of the युहूकथा of Kashmir accords with reality. The coincidence of the two recensions tells us plainly that the original was divided into 18 चतुर्थांश as its main divisions. धनामादिसामाज्र is the Sanskrit version of the युहूकथा of शोभदेव a Brahman of Kashmir, son of Rama.

between 1063 and 1081 A D , who wrote it to divert the troubled mind of शृङ्खला a princess of Jalandhara, wife of Ananta and mother of Kalasa.. The work falls a considerable period after that of क्षेमेन्द्र In addition to the division into lambakas Somadeva has one of his own composition into भावद्वय 124 in all, in relation to his naming the book as Ocean of the rivers of stories ( रथासरिंसाग्रह )

Romantic and didactic Tales 1. Romantic tale The fame of the Brihatkatha resulted in few other tales preserved in works of early date. (1) The वेतालपञ्चविंशतिका ( Vetalapanchavinsatika ) was originally part of a distinct cycle, but it is preserved for us in its oldest form in क्षेमेन्द्र's बृहदकथामञ्जीवी and सोमदेव's कथासरिंसाग्रह We have several other recensions, of which that of शिवदास ( Sivadasa ) is in prose and verse, representing the original form of the tales. One recension of an anonymous author is no more than a prose version based on क्षेमेन्द्र, and Kshemendra's verses have here and there found their way into the codices of शिवदास The late recension of असुन्दरी has no verse maxims and its form of tales is in some respects older than that shown by other recensions. An abbreviated version by वल्लभदास is also known. शिवदास's recension can not date before the 12th century A D (2) सिंहासनवान्धिंशिका or 32 tales told by the statues of maiden on a throne alleged to have been discovered by Bhoja of Dhara in the 11th century, when that king desired to seat himself on it. The throne is said to have been won by Vikramaditya

as a gift from Indra and after his death in battle against शिवाहन it had been buried in the earth and the 32 spirits bound there in statue form tell tales of the great monarch and receive release More like the original form is the south Indian version with gnomic verses and occasional narrative verses mingled in its Prose In a North Indian recension the stories are lost in morals The Bengal version ascribed to वररुचि ( Vararuchi ) is merely based on the Jain recension The work is later than the Vetalu Pinchavini atika विक्रमादित्य's adventures are also the subject of an alleged epic in 30 Chapters the Viracharita ( वीरचरित ) of Ananti whose real hero is rather शूद्रक once co regent of Salivahana but later a supporter of the descendants of Vikramaditya Of the Salivahana Katha in 18 cantos partly in prose by शिवदास and (4) of the राधानगरवद्धि in simple prose with Sanskrit and Prakrit stanzas by आनन्द pupil of Bhatta Vidhyadhara we can say this much that they are romantic tales only But interesting is (5) the सुकसीपति ( Sukasīptati ) seventy tales of a parrot of which we have two recensions and was known to the Jain Hemchandra The form of the original was simple prose interspersed with gnomic verse and with some narrative verses at the beginning and end of each of the tales The close contact of the literature of tales with the people is shown by the fact that later we find apparent Sanskrit versions of vernacular works as in (6) the भारती फ़िरी ( Bharatikā dwatrinsika ) tales intended to deride Brahmins and obviously of Jain inspiration

শিবদান's কথার্ব, 35 tales including stories of fools and thieves, is also late and in (7) Vidyapati's Purusha-Pariksha ( পুরুষপরীক্ষা ), a collection of 44 stories, we have the work of an author who won, in the latter part of the 14th century, fame as a Maithili Poet To the same century belong also the legends of jain মেকতুঞ্জ and রাজশেখর in the (8) প্রবন্ধচিন্তাগ্নি and (9) প্রবন্ধকোণ respectively Ballala's (10) ভোজপ্রবন্ধ, legends of the court of king Bhoja of Dhara, is a work of the 16th century

II Didactic tale. The tale aiming directly at edification rather than amusement is specially richly presented in Jain literature. In spite of their fondness to stories, the Jains demanded a moral in each tale and their writers were often led to spoil good stories such as the legends of Vikramaditya by seeking to make the participants in high adventure rather tedious exponents of Jainism

## Lecture 5.

### GREAT ROMANCES.

1. দণ্ডিন (Dandin) was the author of the Sanskrit romance, Dasa-Kumara charita, and the treatise on Sanskrit shetoric, Kavyadarsa He is said to have been the author of a third work also , but what that work was has not yet been ascertained As to the date of Dandin we know this much that his kavya-

darsa was composed before Bhāmīhi ( A D 700 ) and he wrote the शृङ्खलाकथित before the time of king Har hi Virdhana and hence before Subandhu and Banabhatta

Dandin derived the conception of the plot of his romance शृङ्खलाकथित from Gunadhya's Brihatkithi. Like Bana's Kadambari, the शृङ्खलाकथित was left incomplete by Dandin. The वृत्तचरिता and the उत्तरचरिता were written afterwards. The Dasa kumara charita is a romance of the काव्य type, a didactic work in attempt to teach the doctrines of the शिष्मान in narratives of attractive character. His distinctive quality is the application to the simple tale, of the grand manner of the Kāvya. The main interest of the romance lies in the substance, with its vivid and picturesque account of low life and adventure of magicians and fraudulent holy men of princesses and ruined kings of hetiara; of expert thieves of fervent lovers.

2 शृङ्ख (Subandhu) was the author of the Sanskrit romance Vasavadatta ( वासवदत्ता ) His name appears first in the Harsha charita of Bana Bhatta, where he is mentioned in the introduction as quelling the pride of poets and in the Kadambari Bana uses the epithet अद्यधि ( surpassing two ) referring his work to the Vasavadatta of Subandhu and the Brihatkatha of Gunadhya. Subandhu's name appears with those of Bhasa Kalidasa and Harichandra in Nakpatiraja's Gaudavaha. He is classed with Menaka Bharavi and Bana by Mankha in his Sri

kantha charita and Kaviraja in his Raghava-Pandaviya boasts that Subandhu, he and Bana are masters of ambiguous diction ( ଅୟ୍ୟ ) He preceded Bana-Bhatta, but was anterior to Vatsyayana, author of the Kaṇṭakaśtra, saint Bharata, author of the Natya Sastra, and Gunadhyā the author of the Brihat katha Subandhu lived in the second quarter of the seventh century Subandhu's ସଂବଦ୍ଧୀ was a katha ( ସଥା ) or a romance whereas there was an akhyayika ( ଆକ୍ଷୟିକା ) or historical romance of the same name at a very early age composed by Katyayana as mentioned by Patanjali

**Plot of the Vasavadatta.** King Chintamani has a beautiful son, Kandarpaketu, who in a dream beheld a damsel of beauty excelling him Sleep leaves him and with his friend Makaranda he sallies forth in quest of the unknown In the Vindhya as he lies sleepless he over-hears the curtain-lecture of an indignant ନୟନୀ bird to her husband who defends himself for late hours by telling how the monarch ଶୁଦ୍ଧାରତ୍ନା of Pushpapura has a peerless daughter, ସଂବଦ୍ଧୀ, who in a dream has seen the lovely vision of a youth of whom she is deeply enamoured. She has sent her confidante ତାଙ୍ଗଲିନୀ to bear to the youth an assurance of her deep love There is no difficulty in securing the meeting of the two at Pataliputra, but the prince learns to his horror that the king, wearied of her unwedded state, means forth-with to marry her to the Vidyadhara-chief ପୁଞ୍ଜକ୍ରୁତ୍ତି. The lovers therefore flee by means of a magic-steed to the Vindhya where they fall asleep.

Awakened the prince finds to his sorrow that the maiden has departed and in his despair he is only kept from self destruction by a voice from the sky promising him reunion After long wandering he finds a statue which at his touch awakens to life as his beloved and in reunion they live in great happiness in Kandarpaketu's capital Subandhu's claim in the work is that he is a storehouse of cleverness in the composition of works in which there is a pun in every syllable and this is carried out in prose with occasional verses interspersed and with an introduction in verse In fact Subandhu's ideal was clearly the Grudha (ग्रुद्ध) style with its enormous compounds (महाक्रूप), its love of etymologizing, its deliberate exaggeration, its love of harsh sounds, its fondness for alliteration, its attempt to match sense closely with sound, its research for recondite results in the use of figures of speech and above all in paronomasia and cases of apparent incongruity

**Bana Bhatta** He leaves an autobiography in his historical prose kavya Hirshacharita He was a Brahman of the Vatsyayana family at श्रीकिर्त्ति His great grandfather पात्रपात्र had a son अर्पणि who had 11 sons of whom शशांक was his father and the lady त्रिलोकी was his mother His mother died when he was very young and his father, having brought him up with tender care till he attained 14 breathed his last After his father's death he joined a dubious company and seized by a fit of wandering he went far acquiring evil repute in abundance

But he redeemed his misspent youth by consorting with the wise and finally returned to pritikuta. Here he received a royal summons through Krishna, brother of king Harsha Vardhana. He went to the royal camp and was received with marked coldness by the king, but shortly afterwards received the royal favour. He recited the Haishacharita, because on a visit home he was asked to speak of the great king. The work is, however, left unfinished and what is more striking, the poet left his Kadambari incomplete though an end was made for it by his son Bhushana Bhatta or Bhatta Pulina, who states that he did so because regret was felt at the incomplete condition of the work. Between the Harshacharita and the Kadambari, the former was his earlier work than the latter. He was son in law of the poet Mayura, the author of শ্রীশতক ( আখ্যানিকা ) Haishacharita and his romance ( কথা ) Kadambari ( পূর্বভাগ ) Bana is credited with the চঙ্গীশতক and the play পার্বতীপরিণয় in 5 acts. The feebleness of the play both in construction and style might have deterred critics from accepting the attribution and in point of fact it is clear that it was the production of বানভট্টবাণ in the 15th, century. The ascription of the বন্ধুবলী to Banabhatta is also merely an idle surmise, for the limited imagination and restrained diction of the author of that piece are wholly unlike the over-fertile conception of বাণভট্ট and his amazing command of words.

The Harshacharita It is an autobiography

of the poet and a history of king Harshavardhaoa in whose court he lived for a long time. It is both a history and a pre-kavya of the abhyayika type.

**The Kadambari** It is a romance and a Prose Kavya of the Katha type. It has a complex structure of its own for it consists of a long narrative in which are interwoven other narratives given by characters of the work. It is interesting to note how in the Kadambari and in the Brihat Katha tale whence the story is largely derived we find the highest perfection of manner in the relation of one tale within another. In the simplest form we have it in the शास्त्र style where a tale of old is led up to by a tale of today and the story ends with the application to today of the legend of the past. In such works as the देवानपरिषद् there is a closer approach to the Kadambari in as much as the toles of the Vampire are all connected with the main purpose of the king and thus though distinct in themselves, serve to help on one main purpose. A closer approach is achieved in the मन्महाचारत so far as the princes each narrate their own experiences, thus introducing a degree of life which is wanting in the other forms, for in the Jntakas though the वैष्णव tells a tale of what was really his past experience, it is not narrated in the first person. As the idea of the मन्महाचारत is borrowed from the Brihntkathn, we have an additional proof of the free use there of this device of first hand narrative which is still further developed in the Kadambari,

because the whole of the tales told are essentially part of one complex action, unlike those of the princes of the romance of Dandin. The story is replete with the tenderness of human love, the beneficence of divine consolation, the pathos and sorrow of death and the abiding hope of reunion after death as a result of unswerving fidelity to love. There is a strong appeal in the element of the miraculous, nor is there anything save attraction in the wonderful history of the Moon and Pundarika, even the appearance of the latter in parrot-form has nothing ludicrous when it is believed that human beings do pass from one body to another ( according to the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul ). Bana's treatment of love is refined and graceful and shows itself at its best in the scenes between Kadambari and Prince Chandrapida. Bana achieves a wonderful insight into the currents of youthful passion and virgin modesty which sway a girl's mind when first she is moved to love. Credit is also due to him for his effective characterisation of so many characters. To king Tarapida, Queen Vilasavati, and above all, to minister Sukanasa he has imparted both life and colour, while the devotion of পত্রলেখা is touchingly portrayed. There is no lack of movement and Bana is perfectly aware of the advantage of contrast. His sense of drama is revealed by the introduction with its brilliant portraits of king শুক্র and the Chandala maiden, while his love for nature and his close observation reveal themselves in his descriptions of the Himalaya,

of lake अङ्गे न of महाखेता's abode and in minor touches throughout With uncommon merit, Baoa's defects are equally grave not merely in respect of style and structure but in respect of proportion his defects are very great In his description of the wood, in his devotion to the beauties of the morning or the evening or the rising of the moon or the limbs of his heroine he loses sight of the plot itself Bana's fondness of figures of speech is obvious and metaphors similes seeming incongruity exemplification Sahokti and others abound

### Later romances

Banabhatta set a model which it was easy to admire but infinitely hard to follow with success Critics classed him with श्री-भट्टाचारिया one of the few poetesses of India who used Sanskrit as a model of the पाक्षिक style in which sense and sound are of equal importance Bana found an imitator in Dhanapali ( धनपाल ) son of सर्वदेव ( Sarvadeva ) who lived under the patronage of Siyaka and Vakpati of Dhara and wrote in 972 3 A D ऋषभपञ्चांशिका ( Rishahha Pancha sika ) in 50 stanzas in Prakrit He wrote also a romance called Tilakamanjari ( तिळकमञ्जरी ) after the heroine imitating Bana's Kadambari Another Jain effort to rival the Kadambari is seen in the गद्यचिन्तामणि ( Gadyachintamani ) of Odayadeva ( alias Vadibha Sinha ) who was a Digambar Jain pupil of Pushpa sena

## Champu Kavyas.

The romances contain a few stanzas here and there, but they are normally and effectively in prose, but the literary compositions called Champu ( চম্পু ) differ vitally from them in that they use prose or verse indifferently for the same purpose. In this Champus differ from other forms of literature in which verse is mingled with prose. The verses in these cases are either gnomic or they serve to summarise the context of the story as do the title verses of the Panchatantra or occasionally they appear to lend greater effect to some point in the narrative as when a short speech is made in pointed form, or a specially important idea is thus underlined. The oldest চম্পুকাব্য (Champu Kavya) is the দময়ন্তীকথা (Damayanti Katha) or নলচম্পু (Nala Champu) of Trivikrama Bhatta as well as his মদালাসচম্পু (Madalasa champu) of the 10th century A. D. To the same century we owe the much more important work, যশস্তিলক (Yasastilaka) written in 959 A.D by সোমদেব (Somadeva) who was a Digambara Jain and who wrote with an eye to the salvation of mankind by means of devotion to Jain faith. Another Jain Champu is the জৈবদ্ধরচন্পু of Harichandra based on the উত্তরপুরাণ (Uttara Purana) of Gunabhadra and written not earlier than 900 A.D. Of Brahmanical Champus, the Ramayana-Champu is ascribed to Bhoja and Lakshmana Bhatta. There is a ভাৰতচম্পু (Bharata Champu) by Ananta in 12 stabakas. The

उदयसुन्दरीकथा ( Udaya Sundari Katha ) of Soddhala a Valahha Kayastha of Lata who wrote in 1000 A D under the patronage of king Mummoniraja of the Kookan. The model of the writer was Harsha chrita of Bann. The श्वाहासुधाराचम्पु (Swaha Sudhalara Champa) of Narayana of the 17th century describing the loves of Agni's wife swaha and the Moon in an idyllic manner has been compared by Pischel with Homer's picture of the loves of Ares and Aphrodite. The संकलरा चेतोविलासचम्पु (Sanklara-chetovilasa champa) of Sini lara in honour of chetas sinha whose name figures prominently in the transactions of Warren Hastings is an extempore composition ( आत्मविटा )

### Fables and Marchen of Greece and India

Parallelisms between Indian and Greek fairy tales and fables have never been ignored. Wagener held that Greece was the recipient but Weber and Benfry held that Indian fables were borrowed from Greece. Now the Greek fable existing in the time of Hesiod was hinted at in Homer and appeared definitely in Archilochos and Simonides. But Benfry could not but hold that fairy tales were normally Indian in origin. As a chronological consideration stress has been laid on the monumental evidence in India specially at Bharhut of the 3rd or 2nd century BC for the beast fables and the Jataka stories already existed in the 4th and 5th centuries BC. We can not ignore the fact of Egypt having played a part in the genesis and

transmission of fables. Hertel insisted that the idea of making use of fables in the instruction on politics was essentially Indian and on its strength he claimed for India originality in respect of the best greek fables. Tales which can not be traced definitely to Indian sources may yet be readily assumed to have reached the west from India Apart from literature tales often pass from mouth to mouth and the cru sades resulted in prolonged intercourse between christians and Mahomedans. The Arab rule in Spain and the jews played an important part as intermediaries Translations of the Panchatantra : The physician Burzoe under chosrau Anosharwan (531—79) translated a version of the Panchatantra into Pahlavi It was rendered into syriac by one Bud in 570 A. D. and about 750 A. D. an Arabic version was made by Abdallah Ibna Moquaffa from which the western versions are derived, At the close of the 11th century the Greek version of Simeon, son of Seth, gradually produced an Italian version of 1583 by Giulio Nuti, two Latin and one German versions and various Slav reproductions. In 1100 was produced the Hebrew version of the Rabbi Joel whence was made by John of capua a printed edition in 1480. A spanish version appeared in 1493 and 1570 an English translation of Part I was brought out by Sir Thomas North

## Lecture 6

## THEORIES OF POETRY (Poetics)

पाणिनीत्यशास्त्र of saint Bharata which is essentially a treatise on dramaturgy of the earliest age is earlier than Bhasa and Kalidasa. The great merit of this treatise is that it develops the doctrine of sentiment (भूमि) with its eight subdivisions as erotic (शूद्राव), comic (शास्त्र) pathetic (कङ्गण) those of anger (रोष), heroism (वीर) fear (भयाक) disgust (वीड़िय) and wonder (पृथु). Sentiment (भूमि) is a condition in the mind of the spectator of a drama or the hearer or reader of a काव्य Kavya produced by the emotions of the characters and the emotions (विभाव) are excited by factors which may either be the object of emotion (आनन्द विभाव) or serve to heighten it (उद्धोषन विभाव). Poetics developed the sentiments. After the पाणिनीत्यशास्त्र we find the poetics by रघिन् and भाष्म Bhamaha had a predecessor in ब्रह्माचार्य. The earliest person to whom रघिन् is known was उद्गट who commented on him under उम्मपीठ of Kashmir (779—813 A D) The वायाकर्ण of रघिन् shows us a very simple stage of development of the conception of poetry. An important doctrine was expounded by ऋनिकार about A D 820 and by the कन्दालोककार आनन्दवर्द्धन about 40 years later and by the farther exposition of अचिनवस्तु A D 1000. It was fully dealt in the काव्यप्रकाश of यज्ञोल्लेष्ट who fully explained ऋनि, यज्ञोल्लेष्ट and एव इकित्तम along with the laws of Kavya.

## Lecture 7.

### SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE.

Origin of Sastras ( शास्त्र ): Science, Sastra or Vidyā ( विद्या ), in India arises in very close connection with religion. The Vedic period saw the development of definite sacrificial schools which preserved the tradition of one or other of the 4 Vedas. These vedic schools, however, gradually passed away and what happened was the inevitable rise of specialisation. If in a Rigvedic school the need for grammatical study produced a special school of grammarians ( देव्याकरणं ) they would tend to amalgamate with any grammarians who studied the Yajurveda and to extend their interest to the Vedas in general. Thus Yaska ( याश ), earlier than 5th century B C, knows of schools of Vaiyakaranas, of Nairuktas, etymologists and of Yajnikas ( याज्ञिक ), persons who concerned themselves with the sacrifice, and the grammar of Panini is sufficient proof that there existed a grammatical school which was willing to include in its work usages of different Vedas and different schools of the same Veda. The देव्याकरणं are the direct ancestors of the science of Grammar in classical times. The Nairuktas 'in spite of their giving an impulse to lexicographical studies, can hardly be said to be the direct cause of the existence of कोश ( Kosas ), which were largely influenced by the necessity of the writers of Kavya, who required to have collections of words for aid in the composition of poetry. Yet another early develop-

ment within the Vedic period was the building up of schools of law including religious civil and criminal law. This must have been done together with the development of society and the necessity for having some standards to guide the Brahmins who acted as advisers and Judges to the ruling class. The Manu Sankita presupposes a considerable period of development during which there arose professional schools to one of which is due the production of the Smritis (स्मृति) which claims not to guide the life of any single community but to be a general guide for all classes of the state. The Vedic sacrifice demanded a rudimentary knowledge of the calendar and elementary conceptions of mensuration. Definite ideas of these subjects were slow of development and were at first bound down merely to close connection with each Veda. We still have different recensions of the Jyotishi (ज्योतिष) on astronomy and the Sulba sutras (सुल्बसूत्र) on the making of altars and kindred matters. From these beginning developed a wider geometrical astronomical and astrological science which we find under the comprehensive title of Jyotishi studied in distinct schools. Medicine again appears first in the spells of the Atharva Veda and was fostered by the schools of magic practices which produced such a work as the Kausika (कौशिक) Sutra of that Veda but its Vedic connection is less close than in the case of most of the sciences already mentioned, and what surgery and anatomical knowledge it possessed was furthered by the practice of dissecting

animals for sacrifices and less often even man in the human sacrifice ( নৃসেষ্ঠ ). The Vedic schools developed also a tendency to mysticism which is seen in the আরণ্যক's ( aranyakas ) and the Upanishads, which are attached to the great Brahmanas. The Upanishads, inspite of their close connection with Vedic schools, transcend in their ideas the school-limit and prepare the way for the systems of philosophy Theology and theosophy passed beyond the sphere of the old schools and were handed down in new forms of organisation. The study of metre (Prosody) was encouraged by the mystic importance attached in Vedic times to metre of the sacred texts, and ছন্দস (metrics) is reckoned as one of the six vedangas, but its character and importance were early affected by the need of affording guidance to writers of Kavya and other forms of literature. Poetics was hardly Vedic and represents an independent secular science অর্থশাস্ত্র or নৌতিশাস্ত্র has connection with ধর্মশাস্ত্র and কামশাস্ত্র was taught along with the primitive arthasastra under the ধর্মশাস্ত্র.

### Sanskrit Lexicography (কোশ ).

The oldest work on lexicography in India is recorded in the Nighantus (নিষট্টুস) or collections of Vedic terms, of which the most important are the lists in Jaska's nirukta Bana, Mayura, Murari and Sriharsha composed dictionaries of terms for use in double meanings ( শ্লেষার্থ-পদসংগ্রহ ) The নিষট্টুস further contained not merely a nominal but also

verbal forms, the वाचिः only nouns and indeclinables Of lexicons two main classes exist—synonymous, in which words are grouped by subject matter, and homonymous (अनेकार्थ नानार्थ), but all important synonymous dictionaries usually include a homony mous section Names of Lexicons (1) Katyayana's नामाना (2) वाचप्रतिस शब्दार्थ (3) विज्ञानिका's संसारार्थ (4) व्याख्या's उपाधिनी All these books are not yet printed (5) नामदिवामशास्त्र of अमरसिंह (usually called अमरकोट) of about 500 A D occupies the same dominant position in lexicography as does the अष्टाध्यायी of Panini in grammar The work is syno nymous arranged in three books by subjects with an appendix in the last on homonyms indeclinables and genders शिरशास्त्रिन् is its best commentator शिलालेख of पुरुषोत्तमदेव is its supplement अनेकार्थ ग्रन्थ of शाख्त is older than अमरकोट (7) अभिधानशब्दमाला of ह्लादि dates from about 950 A D (8) About a century later is यादवप्रकाश & दैवज्ञानी (9) विश्वप्रकाश of खद्देशरकवि dates from 1111 A D (10) मङ्गल अनेकार्थकोश was composed in Kashmir about 1170 A D (11) Hemachandra composed four dictionaries (1) अभिधान चिह्नाण (on synonyms) (2) अनेकार्थम् ग्रह (homonyms) (2) लोकान्माना (a dictionary on Prakrit words) and (4) विष्टश्वेष a botanical glossary which forms a supple ment to his अभिधानचिह्नाण

### Treatises on metre :

Sections of the शास्त्राधिनाली उद्यत्र the निदनिश्च बे श्वकाप्रतिशाखा and वाच्यानां Anukramanis to the Rig-

veda and yajurveda deal with metre. The topic ranks as the वेदाध्यनः and a sutra of this name is ascribed to Pingala, but the पिंडलध्यनः सूत्र is far more concerned with classical than Vedic texts. Pingala is earlier than भरत whose आर्यनाट्यशास्त्र in chapters XIV and XV deal with metre. The शास्त्रबोध, ascribed to Kalidasa, illustrates while describing the verses. A chapter (104) in the बृहसंहिता of वराहगिरि describes metres simultaneously with planetary movements. खेन्द्रे in his सूत्रात्मक describes the metre with illustrations from his own works. हेमचंद्र wrote छन्दोविष्णुशासन, देवारभट्ट wrote बृत्तरत्नाकर ( giving 136 metres ) and गढादीप wrote छन्दोविष्णवी.

### Grammar,

Before वाक्य we had the terms नामन् (noun), मर्वनानन् (pronoun), आथ्यात् (verb), उपसर्ग (preposition) and निपात् (particle). Analysis of forms was added by वाक् in the Nirukta. शाकटायन noted that all nouns are derived from verbs. This was opposed by गार्गी, but the उण दिग्भृषि deriving words from verbs by unusual affixes confirmed the opinion of शाकटायन. We get then the पदपाठ of the Rigveda by शाकल्य and the ओतिष्ठायिः on the Rigveda and the Taittiriya and Vaja Saneyi Sahitas and the शिक्षाः. A regular Scientific treatise on grammar was the अष्टाध्यायी of Panini consisting of about 4000 short sutras divided into 8 books in the 4th century B C. Panini cites by name many predecessors such as शाकटायन, आपिशलि, शैवानक and others. He was a native of शालात्तुर near the modern Atak, where-

HuenT sang saw a statue to his memory His mother was ଦୁର୍ମୀ and a legend ascribes his death to a lion Panini refers to the ଉତ୍ତାଦିତ୍ସତ୍ତ୍ଵରେ the ଗଣପାଠ and the ଧାତୁପାଠ In 1140 A D ବର୍ଣ୍ଣନାନ୍ �metrically arranged the ଗାଁପାଠ �in his ଗଣରତ୍ନମହୋଦୟି The ପରିଭାଷେଦ୍କୁଶେଖର ରେ ନାଁ ଗାଁଜିଙ୍ଗଟ୍ଟ �is a collection of the rules of interpretation of ପରିଭାଷାଃ We have the ବାର୍ତ୍ତିକାଃ or notes of କାତ୍ଯାଯନ ( 300 B C ) on 1245 of Panini's Sutras Patanjali in the second century B C composed the ସହାଭାଷ୍ୟ with supplementary comment of his own The ସହାଭାଷ୍ୟ was commented on in the 7th century A D by ଭର୍ତ୍ତର ରି in his ବାକ୍ୟପଦ୍ମିନ୍ �in three books of verse which is concerned with the philosophy of grammar and by କୈକ୍ରଟ �at about the 13th century A D The first complete commentary of the ଅଷ୍ଟାଧ୍ୟାଧୀନୀତିଃ of ପାଣିନି called କାତ୍ତିକା ବ୍ରତ ରେ ଅନ୍ତିମା କୌମୂଳ୍ୟ ରମାଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ରମାଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ରମାଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ରମାଚନ୍ଦ୍ର �was composed at about 600 A D The ଅନ୍ତିମା କୌମୂଳ୍ୟ ରମାଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ରମାଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ରମାଚନ୍ଦ୍ର �r of Ramachandra was the first attempt to make Panini's grammar easier by a more practical arrangement of its subject matter in the 15th century A D ଉତ୍ତୋଜ୍ଞା ଦ୍ୱାରିତ ସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତକୌମୂଳ୍ୟ ରମାଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ରମାଚନ୍ଦ୍ର �r of the 17th century A D has a similar aim

Amongst non Paninian grammarians may be mentioned କାଶି ( about 60 ) A D ଶାକଟାୟନ ( later than Kasil a ) and ହେମକ୍ରମ ( 12th century A D ) author of a Prakrit grammar and the ଉତ୍ତାଦିତ୍ସତ୍ତ୍ଵରେ The କାତ୍ତିକା ରେ ମର୍ମ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣନ୍ ( usually called କୌମୂଳ୍ୟ ରେ or କାତ୍ତିକାପରାକରଣ ) seems to have been the most influential of later grammars ବରକ୍ରଚି's ପ୍ରାଚ୍ୟତ ଏକାଶ ରେ a ପ୍ରାଚ୍ୟତ ବ୍ୟାକରଣ The ମୁଖ୍ୟାବାଦ ରେ ବୋପଦେବ �is only a partial work on grammar The କିଟ୍ଟତ୍ସତ୍ତ୍ଵ ରେ later than Patanjali gives rules for accentuation of nouns

Hemchandra's लिङ्गारूपासन् is a treatise on genders of words. The शुगला of पञ्चनाभद्रत and संक्षिप्तदार of अनन्दीयम are short treatises on grammar.

### Civil & Religious Law ( धर्मशास्त्र )

**Origin of Law :** With composition of Sutras on matters of ritual there were included in them instructions on matters closely akin to ritual, the daily life of the people, their duties of all kinds, including matters which more advanced civilisation would classify as questions of etiquette and social usage, moral, legal or religious. Of course in such rules were included regulations of all issues affecting caste, especially the vital one of marriage, and these books came to serve as rudimentary texts on law. Sutras of this kind were called धर्मसूत्र as contrasted with those dealing with the more formal and domestic ritual which were called श्रोतुष्ट्र and गृहसूत्र. Thus the whole text called कल्पसूत्र was divided into three classes viz. श्रोतुष्ट्र गृहसूत्र and धर्मसूत्र. They were composed, in prose as briefly as possible, often with verses here and there to justify a doctrine or sum it up effectively. Amongst the old धर्मसूत्र which were the original sources of Hindu law, we have the ग्रोत्य-धर्मसूत्र ( which now goes by the name of ग्रोत्य धर्मशास्त्र ) belonging to the ब्राह्मणनीय school of the मानवेद and the हारीत धर्मसूत्र ( now called हारीत धर्मशास्त्र ) in 30 chapters. The वासिष्ठ धर्मशास्त्र, preserved in fragmentary and interpolated manuscripts speaks, of the above two धर्मसूत्र. It mentions Manu as an authority and it belongs according to औभारिलालट्टे to a lost Rigveda School, the Vasistha. The

बोधायन धर्मशास्त्र and the आपस्तमीय धर्मशास्त्र are sutras of the schools of the ऋष्यजूर्वेद The chool of हिन्दूकेन्द्रिय is closely akin to the Apastamhiya The dates of these works cannot be placed later than 4th or 5th ceatury B C The Vaishaava dharma sastra goes back to a धर्मशास्त्र of the Kathaka school of the Black Yajurveda just as the शशोत्तर धर्मशास्त्र represents the देवशास्त्रीय school The देवशास्त्र धर्मशास्त्र, in three chapters deals with the duties of the castes and of the different stages of the life of the Brahmaa It has the appearance of a late work drawn up in the sutra style The dharma sutras of Paithinasi, attached to the अथर्ववेद of शैव लिपिभृत attached to the उद्गीष्यजूर्वेद of उद्गीष्य of काशीप and of बृहस्पति are high authorities on Hindu law We see that there developed at an early date the tendency to study law in the widest sense of the term in special schools not coateat to adopt the practices of any single Vedic school To the activities of these schools we owe the vast amount of didactic verses we find in the Mahabharata and in later law books

मनु शृङ्ख ( or गृह्णाति ) universally known as मानवधर्मशास्त्र is the work of लृग in accordance with the teaching of his master Manu The genuine work on Hindu law as taught by saint Manu was the मनिवधर्मशास्त्र which is a branch of the Maitrayaniya school of the Black Yajurveda We often find reference to बृहस्पति and बृहस्पति containing 100000 verses which saint Narada reduced to 12000 in his मृश्चिति saint मार्दणेश reduced it to 8000 and saint Samati son of saint Bhrigu reduced it to 4000 stanzas, while the present गृह्ण शृङ्ख

of ভূগ্র is reduced to 2684 stanzas Three books of the Mahabharata contain as many as 260 stanzas out of 2684 stanzas of the present ভূগ্রসংহিতা The সংগ্রহসংহিতা, according to the scholars of the west, assumed its present shape not later than the second century A. D. Codes of নব্বি, বাজ্জলিক্ষ্মণ and নারদ are metrical rendering of either the মানবধর্মসূত্র or poetical redactions of the বৃক্ষ-মনুষ্যাত্ম or বৃহদ্বায়ুশুভ্রতি. Saint পরাশর, a lawgiver, says that the মানবধর্মশাস্ত্র was for the golden age ( সত্যযুগ ), that the গৌতম ধর্মশাস্ত্র was for the silver age ( ত্রেতাযুগ ), that শ্বেতালিখিত ধর্মশাস্ত্র was for the copper age ( দ্বাপর যুগ ) and পারাশর ধর্মশাস্ত্র was for the iron age ( কলিযুগ ) The বাজ্জলিক্ষ্মণ ধর্মশাস্ত্র containing 1009 stanzas is based on the ধর্মসূত্র of the Yajurveda. The third section of this Sanhita resembles the পারম্পর গৃহস্তুতি, but it is really based on the মানব ধর্মসূত্র of the কৃষ্ণবুর্জীবন্দ. It was composed about 350 A. D. The author belonged to Mithila, now Tirhut. The নারদ সংহিতা was the first to limit ধর্ম to law in the strict sense It was composed about 500 A. D. The পারাশরস্বতি was a later work.

The second stage of legal literature was formed by the commentaries. The oldest is the মেধাভিথিভাষ্য of the গন্ধুসংহিতা of about 800 A. D., কৃষ্ণবুর্জী's মৰ্বৰ্য্যমুভাব্যালী of the 15th century is only a plagiarism of গোবিন্দরাজ's commentary of the 12th century. The most celebrated commentary on the বাজ্জলিক্ষ্মণ ধর্মশুভ্রতি is the মিতাম্বরা of বিজ্ঞানেশ্বর composed about 1100 A. D. It attained the position of a standard work in the Deccan, in Benares and a great part of the আর্যাবর্ত. From about 1000 A. D. an innumerable multitude of legal com-

pendia called ধৰ্মনিয়ক was produced. The বৃহৎচিদ্ধাম্পি of হেমাপ্তি in 5 parts of nabout 1300 A D is the most imposing of them. The পঞ্চবৃত্ত of শীতুর্বাহন (of about the 15th century A D) is also important, a part of it the পূর্ণতাগ being the chief work of the Bengal school on the law of inheritance. The বৃহৎতিষ্ঠতি is almost a *Vartika* (বার্তিকা) on *Mina* whom it supplements. But in legal view it is distinctly more advanced. It was composed between the 5th and 6th centuries A D. The commentary of শাক্ত on the পাত্ৰাধৰ্মজ্ঞত্ব in the fourteenth century is an authoritative work. In his পুরিকল্পনা লক্ষ্যতা includes religious as well as civil and criminal law and the law of procedure. ইন্দ্ৰায়ুস আধুনিকসূত্ৰ composed for king রবৰ্ণেন্দ্ৰ of Bengal deals with the whole duty of a Brahman and is in minor degree a law book. বৰনপাত্ৰিকাত বি পুরুষ (1360—1370 A D) written mainly on religious duties is also a very useful treatise on the law of succession. The 28 treatises called দুৰ্গন্ধি of Raghunandana রঘুনন্দন of the 15th century A D are now the authorities in Bengal as regards rituals procedure, succession and inheritance.

The Sciences of Politics and practical life (অৰ্থশাস্ত্ৰ নৈতিশাস্ত্ৰ) Origin of অৰ্থশাস্ত্ৰ Vedic literature affords a quite false impression of the Vedic Indians as a person given to reflection and religious practices without regard to practical life. The East confronted Alexander with an obstacle which he did not attempt to penetrate and his garrisons had soon after his death to be withdrawn. To judge India a right

we must add two other objects to the धर्म, religious and moral duty which is dwelt on in Vedic texts. The सूक्तःसंग्रहः speaks of the three objects in life, धर्म, राज्य ( politics and practical life in general ) and कर्म ( love ). The epics, Vishnu Smriti, Manusmriti, Patanjali-Mahabharsha, dramatists, fiction literature, all speak of them. The वेदोः deal with royal duties, capitals and countries, officials, taxes, and military preparations as they do with justice, and the epic, in a list of authorities of the science of kings ( धर्मशास्त्र ) includes वृत्तिष्ठि, शिरायति, विद्युत्, राजा ( अमृतम् ) and ऋषिष्ठि, who presides also for authorities on धर्म. Gradually there sprang up schools who studied धर्म and धर्म दोषोः found, like those on धर्म, expression in didactic verse. The Mahabharata assures us that ब्रह्म (the creator) was the author of a work in 100,000 sections on धर्म, धर्म and धर्म, that ब्रह्म (as विद्यमान) reduced it to 10000 in consideration of the brevity of life, that ईश्वर ब्रह्म brought it down to 5000 and that finally Indra's work ( called वाचद्वयम् ) was reduced by वृत्तिष्ठि to 3000 and by वैदिक् to 1000 sections. From the लौकिक धर्मशास्त्र we know वृत्तिष्ठि, वाचद्वयम्, विद्यमान, वाचद्वयम् and वैदिक् as authorities, and the धर्मशास्त्र of Vatsyayana ascribes धर्म to Manu, धर्म to वृत्तिष्ठि and धर्म to Nandin. The Mahabharata contains sections dealing with polity. The धर्मशास्त्र is variously called नीतिशास्त्र ( science of conduct ), राजनीति ( conduct of kings ), and धर्मनीति ( policy of punishment ) and it was honoured by the Hindus. But the Buddhists hotly denounced राजनीति and condemned नीतिशास्त्र भास

cites a वाह्यात् अर्थात् as an object of study by Brahmanas कोटिलोप्र अर्थात् is one of the most interesting works in Sanskrit as it affords a vast amount of detailed information about the practical side of Indian life as opposed to the spiritual and covering ground touched on in the treatises on धर्म and it does so with a wealth and accuracy of detail which is completely other than the often vague generalities the stock in trade of these texts It is divided into 15 great sections ( अधिकरण ) and 180 subdivisions ( प्रकरण ) crossed by chapters ( अध्याय ) Through misunderstanding it is often compared to the works of Machiavelli as the work is in no sense intended as a treatise on political philosophy The अर्थात् accepting the existence of the three aims of life—धर्म अर्थ and कर्म holds अर्थ as the most important It holds government as most essential for without it there would be the reign of anarchy Under the sceptre all castes and their ordered ways of life prosper—धर्म, धर्म and कर्म are fulfilled By state the अर्थात् means an order of society which the state does not create but which it exists to secure The ways of a king are dictated by the necessity of preserving the royal power and the king's duty of securing the welfare of the system of which he is the protector gives him a morality of his own The end i.e maintenance of a firm rule justifies the means Of course in the use of means to secure obedience and to defeat enemies the अर्थात् is as ruthless as Machiavelli Spies abound the harem and

the royal family are suspect and princes are deliberately debauched to prevent their rending their parents. Orthodox as is the अर्थशास्त्र, it advocates the shameless use of religion as a cloak for baseness. It gives us names of several kings who came to grief by one fault or another. The अर्थशास्त्र recognises the risks of a king from court-intrigues, military oligarchical factions, false ministers, unruly heads of gilds. It recognises the king as no more than a servant of the state, but of control by the people or constitutional limitations it knows nothing. The authorship of the अर्थशास्त्र is attributed to चार्णक, or विक्रूपद्धि or कोटिश, minister of king Chandragupta in the 4th century B.C. Both the text and the comment are ascribed to him.

Later treatises Based mainly on the अर्थशास्त्र is the नीतिसार of कामदकि who hails चार्णक as his master. It is not merely a redaction of the अर्थशास्त्र. (2) Much more interesting is the नीतिवाक्यामृत of मोगदेव सूर्य, the author of the वृत्तिलक, who lets us know that he wrote that work before his treatise on royal duties. Deeply as he is indebted to the अर्थशास्त्र, his spirit is quite different. Of Brahmanical texts we have the युक्तिबस्तुतक �ascribed to king भोज and the नीतिरसाकव of छण्डेश्वर the jurist. Like नीतिप्रकाशिका, the शंखनाति is a work of quite late date which mentions the use of gunpowder and as such is of no value as evidence for early Indian usage or philosophy.

### Ancillary Sciences.

The अर्थशास्त्र included धनुर्वेद (archery) which was an

old and respectable science amongst the warlike people. Its authors include विज्ञानिता, सदाशिव and शास्त्रदत्त शिल्पाचार्य (architecture) or शिल्पाचार्य including वाचविष्णा is represented by various anonymous works including the Maya mita सूक्ष्मावाचार्याचार्य Manasara and ऐश्वर्य शिल्पाचार्य (16th century). Elephants are described in the अस्त्रायुदीर्घ in a dialogue between king ब्रोमपाद of अथ and the ancient sage पालिक्या. The शास्त्रदत्त of नारायण recognises Paliikrya's claim to be the father of the science. The अस्त्रायुदीर्घ (Science of horses) is ascribed to sage शिल्पाचार्य who is often cited as a patron of learning in respect of elephants and other animals. He is often called अस्त्रदेव and his work is called अस्त्रायुदीर्घ. We have also the अस्त्रायुदीर्घ of गृहं the अस्त्र दैषक of ऋष्ण and of दीपकर the वाग्यशील of वर्द्धनान and the अस्त्रचिकित्सा of Nakula. The अस्त्रायुदीर्घ or अस्त्र ग्रन्थाचार्य developed and वर्णाहिनी shows himself familiar with the examination of jewels. The अस्त्रियुदीर्घ of द्वृक्तट्ट and the अस्त्रयुदीर्घ of नारायण प्रतिष्ठित are principal works of this science. The युद्धाचित्तिक reminds us of the science of stealing. The मधुगड़ is a treatise on the science of stealing even by magic. As to the science of music we have the समीत्रभूक्त्र of शास्त्रदत्त (13th century), the गोप्यार्पण of दामोदर and the ग्रामविवेद of सोमनाथ (1609). On hunting the विष्णुधर्मोत्तर of early date contains a section

### The Science of Love

The third of the nims of man is love (काम) and this subject is explained in Indian Sastra in long with धर्म and

অর্থ The অর্থশাস্ত্র is intended for kings and ministers  
 nay for those who devote themselves to politics,  
 and the science of love (কামশাস্ত্র) is to be studied by men  
 of taste ( নাগৰক ) who desire to practise refinement  
 and profit to the most by their knowledge of all that  
 is meant by love. In order to be an accomplished  
 man, one had to study the science of love along  
 with ধৰ্ম and অর্থ for the study of it will be to induce  
 a man who practises love to remember during it the  
 claims of the other sides of human activity, ধৰ্ম and অর্থ,  
 so that he will observe due moderation. The morality  
 of the work is that of the অর্থশাস্ত্র, on the principle  
 that 'all's fair in love and war'. নথুৎসন সরবতৌ, the  
 devout ascetic teacher, who assigns কামশাস্ত্র to the  
 general head of medicine, assures us that it teaches  
 that nothing but sorrow results even from all the  
 refinements taught in the text Vatsyayana's  
 Kamasutra is the earliest work we have on কামশাস্ত্র.

---

### Lecture 8.

#### PHILOSOPHY & RELIGION.

#### Beginnings of Indian Philosophy :

The religious and philosophical spirit of India, in  
 the process of development in the Veda, found  
 brilliant literary exposition in the Upanishads and  
 after the period of the Upanishads dates the time

when ideas of earlier thinkers were gradually taken up and made into definite systems, called धर्म, taught in philosophic schools in the sense of a series of teachers who expounded and developed definite bodies of doctrine. After the existence of this development for some time, ultimately there came a desire to fix in definite form the doctrines of the schools which led to the composition of the sutras. Later we find independent works of the several schools. They recognise the authority of the sutras and make it clear that it was held that in them lay the essential doctrines of the schools which might be expounded and explained but were not to be contradicted.

Different schools of philosophy —The latest hymns of the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda contain speculations on the origin of the world and on the eternal principle by which it is created and maintained. The यजुर्वेद further contains cosmogonic legends describing how the Creator produced every thing by means of the omnipotent sacrifice ( यज्ञ ) With these Vedic ideas are intimately connected those of the earlier Upanishads. This philosophy is essentially pantheistic and idealistic. By the side of it grew up an atheistic and empirical school of thought which towards the close of the 6th and in the 5th centuries B C, furnished the foundation of the two great heterodox ( नार्थक ) religious systems of Buddhism and Jainism.

( 104 )

CLASSIFICATION OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY ( भावत-दर्शनानि )

PHILOSOPHY ( दर्शन )

Heterodox or heretic philosophy defying  
the authority of the Vedas and admitting  
no God ( नाथिक-दर्शनानि )

orthodox philosophy  
( आधिक दर्शनानि — believing in and  
admitting of the authority of  
the Vedas, including Brahmanas  
and Upanishads)

चार्वाकदर्शन  
दैज्यदर्शन  
(Buddhistic philosophy) ( Jain philosophy ) ( Charvaka philosophy )  
of Gautama Buddha of गौतमीर of चार्वाकि

see next page

सांख्यादर्शन (Sankhya, philosophy) of Kapila	योगदर्शन (Yoga philosophy) of Patinjali	न्यायादर्शन (Nyaya philosophy) of Gautama	वैराग्येविक सर्वन (Vaisesika philosophy) of Kanadu (कनाद)	पूर्ववेशासामर्थन (Purvam marga, philo- sophy) of Jaumini (जौमिनि)	उत्तरवेशासामर्थन or वेषासामर्थन (Vedanta philosophy) of Vyasa (व्यास)
				विनिष्ठोदेवताद of Sankaracharya ( संकारचार्य )	दैवतादेवताद of ग्राहाचार्य

दैवतादेवताद  
of  
ग्राहाचार्य

विनिष्ठोदेवताद  
of  
Sankaracharya  
( संकारचार्य )

दैवतादेवताद  
of  
ग्राहाचार्य and  
तात्पराचार्य

वैवक्षयादेवताद  
of  
यश्वनात्माचार्य and  
proounded by his pupil  
वामाश्रु चतुर्थी

N. B. In the Upanishads, philosophical speculations appear in a rather chaotic condition. They were first systematised in manuals called the Sutras. Altogether there are nine schools of which six belong to the orthodox school, admitting of the authorities of the Vedas. Amongst the six orthodox systems, the most important are the pantheistic Vedanta and the atheistic Sankhya. On the latter were based the two heterodox religious systems of Buddhism and Jainism which denied the authorities of the Vedas and opposed the Brahmanic caste system and ceremonials. Still more heterodox was the materialistic philosophy of the Charvaka school which went further and denied even the fundamental doctrines common to all other schools of thought in India—viz. the belief in the transmigration of the soul ( जन्मान्तरबाद ) and the belief in salvation ( मुक्ति or निर्काण ) or release from transmigration.

**Doctrine of Transmigration of the soul :**  
 All creatures must reap the fruit of their actions ( अद्वैतवाद ) It is by the merit ( पूर्णा ) or demerit ( पाप ) of their own actions that creatures undergo different existences ( पूनर्जन्म ) from the highest to the lowest ( आवश्यकत्व पर्याप्त ) and viceversa. Actions are either सकाम ( with some motive ) or निष्काम ( without any motive ). All motiveless works ( निष्कामकर्म ), done with the single idea that it is one's duty ( कर्त्तव्य ), lead the doer to final beatitude ( मोक्ष ) in the long run. This state of perfect bliss or emancipation ( मोक्ष ) is attained when one has his perfect knowledge roused

up ( अद्विनाशेभाव ) He is theo free from all rebirth ( पूर्णज्ञ or स ज्ञात ) and is eternal, fully conscious and full of bliss ( मुक्तिवृत्त अङ्गम ) So long as this state of perfection is not attained all creatures have to travel from one life to another according to the merit ( गुण ) or demerit ( पाप ) earned by their own actions This is transmigration of the soul ( जन्म या गत्यात् ) This doctrine dates from the time of the Veda The Buddha embraced it in the 6th century B C

## six schools

### of orthodox philosophy ( आष्ट्रिक धर्मवादिन )

1 The Purva mimansa ( पूर्वमीमांसा धर्म ) This system is attributed to sage Jaimini ( जैमिनि ) It originated before the beginning of the Christian era It is concerned with the practical side of the Vedic religion The oldest work on it is the पूर्वमीमांसा धर्म of sage जैमिनि This system discusses the sacred ceremonies and the rewards resulting from their performance Holding the Veda to be uncreated and existent from all eternity, it lays special stress on the proposition that articulate sounds are eternal ( अब्रोनिष्ठ ) and on the consequent doctrine that the connection of a word with the thing signified is not due to convention ( संकेत ) but is by nature inherent in the word itself The sūtras were commented on by Upavorsha ( उपवर्ष ) and later by Sabara Swami ( शबरास्वामी ) Sabara

Swamin knew the nihilistic school of Buddhism and the idealistic and as such he could not but have a definite theory of the soul as produced from the absolute Brahman ( ब्रह्मन् ) and as existing independently for ever. On the Bhasya ( भाष्य ) of Sabaraswamin two different systems were founded, one by Prabhakara ( प्रभाकर, 600 A D. ) in his Brihati ( बृहता ), the other by Kumarila Bhatta ( कुमारिल भट्ट ) about 700 A D. Kumarila's comment falls into three parts, the slokavartika ( श्लोकवार्तिक ), the tantra vartika ( तंत्रवार्तिक ) and Tup-tika ( ट्रृप्तीका ). He refutes the doctrine of the omniscience of the Buddha and declares empirical means of knowledge worthless. As a native of southern India he recommends that borrowed words should be given Sanskrit terminations. In spite of vast differences in philosophical doctrine both Prabhakara and Kumarila Bhatta agree in holding with Sabaraswamin that the individual soul ( जीवात्मा ) in some sense is immortal and they do not accept the doctrine of illusion [The scholar एश्वर्पितिगिरि set forth Kumarila's views in his उद्धविन्. Of late works the शारायगाविद्युत of गाधव ( 14th century A D ), the शीरांसाचार्यप्रकाश of आपद्वेव and the अर्थसंग्रह of लोगान्नि भास्कर are best known , but of more philosophic interest is नारायणभट्टे's शानदेश्योदय ( 1600 A D. ) in which Kumarila's epistemology and metaphysics are very interestingly summarised ].

2. The उत्तरमीमांसादर्शन ( The Vedanta Philosophy ) : The Uttaramimansa or the Vedanta philosophy represents a definite gathering up of the philosophical doctrines of the Upanishads in an attempt to frame a

System embracing them all The Brahmi sutra (ब्रह्मसूत्र) of saint Bidarayana Vyasa ( शिवायनव्यास ) deliberately leaves out points on which the Purvamimansa of Jaimini is sufficient matter The doctrine of Bidura yanī evidently directs itself strongly against the Sankhyā system and the atomism of the Vaisesikas The doctrines laid down in the Brahmi sutra have been fully explained by Sankaracharya ( संकाराचार्य ) in the 8th century A D Its epitome is found in the देवेष्टुम् ग्रन्थे निर्वाचने शास्त्रे The fundamental doctrine expressed in the famous formula—तत् त्वं असि ( thou art that) is the identity of the individual soul ( जीवात्मा ) with God the supreme soul ( परमात्मा ) The eternal and infinite Brahman not being made up of parts or not being liable to change the individual soul ( जीवात्मा ) cannot be a part or emanation of it but it is the whole indivisible Brahman As there is no other existence but Brahman the Vedanta is styled नेत्रित अद्वाद ( or doctrine of nonduality i e an idealistic monism ) The evidence of experience which shows a multiplicity of phenomena and the statements of the Veda which teach a multiplicity of souls are brushed aside as the phantasmagoria of a dream which are only true till waking ( उत्त्वान ) takes place The ultimate cause of all such false impressions is अविद्या or innate ignorance It is on account of our innate ignorance ( अविद्या ) that we cannot recognise this world as mere illusion ( माया ) This universe is really a mirage ( धूमरङ्ग ) which the soul under the influence of desire ( दृष्टि ) fancies it perceives just as the panting hart sees before it sheets of

water in the fatamorgana ( दक्षमौर्चिका ). The illusion vanishes as if by a magic when the scales fall from the eyes on the waking of true knowledge ( तत्ज्ञान ). Then the semblance of any distinction between the soul ( जीवज्ञा ) and God ( परमात्मा ) disappears and मोक्ष ( moksha ) the primary end of man ( परमपुरुषार्थ ) is attained. Two forms of knowledge ( विद्या ) are distinguished here, one higher ( प्राची विद्या ) and another lower ( अप्राची विद्या ). The former is concerned with the higher, impersonal Brahman ( परमात्मन् ) which is without form or attribute ( अरूप, अण्ण ), while the latter deals with the lower and personal Brahman who is the soul of the universe and grants salvation [ The doctrine of nonduality and illusion. This view is preserved for us in a definite shape in the Mandukya Karikas of गोडपाद who was the teacher of गोविन्द, the teacher of the great शंखराचार्य. The full defence and exposition of the doctrine of illusion with its insistence on अद्वैत ( absence of any duality ) is due to Sankaracharya ( 788—820 A. D. ) Sankara's अद्वैतवाद in the शारीरवत्तात्म्य of the ऋग्वेद has been clearly explained by गौडपाद in the पञ्चपादिका, by शूद्रेश्वर in the नैष्ठश्चायसिद्धि, and by वाचपाति गिरि in his भागवती. गाधव, in his पञ्चदशी, written in part with भारतीतीर्थ, and जौरन्तुल्लिखिविवेक definitely supports Sankara's views. The वेदान्तसार of सदानन्द shows the elaborate confusion of Sankhya tenets with the Vedanta and the वेदान्तप्रिभाषा of धर्मराज is only a manual of the modern school. ]

**Ramanuja** ( वामामूर्ज ) : A very different view of the Upanishads and the Sutra is presented by Ramanuja,

whn died about 1137 Son of केशव and कामिता he studied nt Kaochi under the Advaita ( अद्वैत ) philo soph-r वासुदेवान्, but nbandoned his teaching for that nf शून्यात्मा whnm he succeeded ns head nf a Vaishnava ( वैष्णव ) seet and nt whose request he wrote his वीजाय on the Brahma Sutra Amongst other wrks he wrnte a वीजाय ntneked in the देश लग लक the illusion theory summarised his दर्श in the देशाद्वयम् and gave a convenient summary nf his doctrine in the व्याख्यात्मक His views were defended against those nf शृङ्गाराचार्य in the व्याख्यात्मक of शृङ्गराचार्य and expounded in the यतोऽप्रभूपादिक of वीनिवास Ramanujr claims to represent a long tradition citing the वाक्यात् the वृत्तिकार व्याख्याम्, and ज्ञानिकान् who was known to एक्षम् and he relies on the आत्मगुरुज् as revealing the true doctrine of the Sutra In es entials he differs from Sankara , if in a sense there is an absnlute whence all is derived the individual souls and matter still have a reality nf their own and the end nf life is not merging in the absnlute but continued blissful existence This state is tn he won by faith ( भक्ति ) in and devntina ( भक्ति ) to God His view of matter permits him tn adopt largely the Sankhya priociples No other comment can be compared to importance with those of एक्षम् and ग्रामाचार्य the former repre.enting the most sustuned intellectual effort of Indian thought the latter representing a theory nf the world which has many similarities to the popular christian belief and which may actually have been affected by christian thought

মধ্বাচার্য ( Madhwacharya ) or আনন্দতীর্থ ( Anandatirtha ). More distinct is the dualism of Madhwacharya or Anandatirtha ( 1197-1276 A.D. ) who commented on seven of the important upanishads, the Gita, the Brahmasutra and the Bhagavata Purana, while a number of independent tracts, including the তত্ত্বসংখ্যান, set out his principles briefly. What he insists on is the existence of five fundamental dualisms ( দ্বিত্ব ), whence his system derives its name ( দ্বিতাত্ত্ববাদ ), as opposed to the অদ্বিত্ববাদ of Sankara and the বিশিষ্টাদ্বিত্ববাদ ( qualified nondualism or the nonduality of that which is qualified ) of Ramanuja. A summary of the views of মধ্বাচার্য is given in the মকলাচার্যসত্ত্বসংগ্রহ of শ্রীনিবাস

যোগবাৰ্ণিষ্ঠ: It is not much distinguished from the Vedanta and is reputed as an appendix to the Ramayana, dealing with all manner of topics including final release. The জৈগিনিভারত is intended as a text book of a Vaishnava sect. The Vedanta at last comes down to three classes, the একবেদান্ত, the দ্বৈষ্বব্রেদান্ত and the শৈব-বেদান্ত and the last was the source of the tantra schools.

### Logic and Atomism.

3 and 4. Logic and Atomism ( শাস্ত্ৰদৰ্শন, বৈশেষিকদৰ্শন ): The impulse to logic ( শাস্ত্ৰ ) is found in the investigation of the Purva-mimansa school. The beginnings of the Nyaya sutra ( শাস্ত্ৰস্তুত ) are ascribed to Gotama ( গোতম ) 500 B.C., while true Nyaya is ascribed to অক্ষণ্পাদ ( 150 A.D. ). The শাস্ত্ৰস্তুত, as we have it, is a compilation representing earlier thought. The বৈশেষিক-

सूत्र is like-wise more or less contemporaneous with the ग्रन्थ The शास्त्र gives us a logic, while the वैदेशिक represents a naturalistic view which finds in atoms (अणु) the basis of the material world , but both sutras accept in some measure the view of the other कण्ठाद्, the alleged author of the वैदेशिक सूत्र is a nickname and the सूत्र shows much unevenness of composition It believes in the real activity of the soul ( denied by the Vedanta of शंकर ) holds the effect to be different from the cause the qualities from the substance and accepts atoms The question of the original view of the two sutras as to God is disputed, both saying very little on the topic The शायमृत found an expositor in परिमद्भाष्यिन् वाचशाखा who wrote the शायमृतार्थ before the Buddhist logician दिग्माण उद्योगप्रभु भास्याकृष्ण in his शायमृतिक ( 620 A D ) defended Vatsyayinna and explained the sutra and Bhashya A further comment on this work was written by वाचप्रभु मिश्र ( 850 A D ) in the शायमृतिकतात्पर्यटीका on which उद्योग in the 10th century wrote the तात्पर्य-परिशिद्धि उद्योग in his शूद्रमालि proved the existence of God दिग्माण the chief of the Buddhist logicians lived about 400 A D A definite step in the history of the शास्त्र was marked in the वृत्तिस्तामणि of the great scholar गग्देश ( 1200 A D ) in four books expounding the means of proof with subtlety permitted in the Nyaya and at the same time incidentally interpreting the metaphysics of the school His principal commentator was Raghunatha Siromani ( ऋघुनाथशिरोमणि ) 1500 A D , on whom गग्देश commented ( 1700 A d )

and नथुरानां. In 16th century the Sanskrit schools ( specially of शास्त्रदर्शन ) of नवस्थाप formed the centre of intellectual life in India. The वैशेषिक सूत्र was taken up and given new life by अश्वत्थपाद in his पदार्थधर्मसंग्रह, which is not a commentary on the sutra but a completely new exposition of the subject-matter of the वैशेषिक दर्शण with additions of importance. A commentary on his work, the ज्ञानकञ्जिनी of श्रीद्वय belongs to 991 A. D. We find in him the same view of theism and the addition of non-existence ( अभाव ) as a seventh to the six वैशेषिक Categories substance ( स्त्रय ), quality ( गुण ), action ( गति ), generality ( मानात् ), particularity ( विशेष ) ( whence the name of the system is usually derived ) and inseparable relation ( i. e. inherence सम्बन्ध ) under which it classed all coherence. उद्धरण also wrote a comment, किरणादली, on अश्वत्थपाद's भाष्य and an independent text, the लक्षणावली.

5 and 6. সাঙ্ক্ষ্য and যোগদর্শন (Sankhya and Yoga systems). While the বেদান্ত is a direct descendant of the Upanishad-discussions, and the systems of logic (তত্ত্ব) and atomism (বৈশিষ্ট্যিক) do not go out of their way to challenge orthodoxy, and ultimately adopt more and more the authority of the scripture, the Sankhya (সাঙ্ক্ষ্য) system in its original form marks a break with tradition. In place of the absolute of the Upanishads, the Sankhya postulates an infinite number of spirits (পুরুষ or আত্ম) and it divorces matter (মুক্তি) from the absolute, ascribing to it the power of evolution. Consciousness is explained by some form of contact between spirit (পুরুষ or আত্ম).

nod matter ( जड़ता ) and release ( निर्जन ) is attained when the unreality of any connection between the two is appreciated. The most important contribution to human thought made by the Saokhya philosophy is the conception of three तत् (constituents) pervading nature ( जड़ता ) and soul ( जूता ) alike. Here the Saokhya traces its basis to the Upanishads where water ( घर ) fire ( देवता ) wind ( वायु ) अथ (ether) and earth ( भूमि ) are the fundamental elements derived from God or pervaded by Him. The founder of the योग लोकोपचारी शास्त्र शिष्य of the Saokhya philosophy was Kapila. The Kapila sutra was gradually interpreted by Asuri and Panchasikha charya. The गार्वादिका of देवदत्त with the commentary गार्वादिकाद्वयी of शास्त्र शिष्य is the most popular treatise on the Saokhya philosophy. सामान्यसिद्धि (usually called सामान्यशिष्य) in his commentary of the गार्वादिका seeks to deal with the Saokhya not as opposed to the Vedanta but as representing one aspect of the truth of that system. His गुरुशास्त्र is a brief introduction to the topic. The Yogan philosophy is closely allied with the Sankhya system. It tells us of the application of the will on the concentration of the mind whence it denotes concentration ( धारण ) and if the concentration aims at union with a deity as it may often have done, the scope may have come to be that of unity the result being put for the effort. The object of Yogo was primarily to cure by practices of repression of the breath, sitting in certain postures and deep concentration magic powers. It was developed under the Saokhya influence, the only

real difference being that the Yoga insists on finding a place for the deity as the 26th principle in addition to the 25 of the Sankhya. This spirit is in constant connection with subtle matter and possesses power, wisdom and goodness. The যোগ is thus the theistic Sankhya, while the মাধ্য় appears to be non theistic. Both Sankhya and Yoga in fusion with Vedanta ideas appear largely in the epic philosophy, in the Puranas and the lawbook of Manu. The বোধ্যক্ষতি is ascribed to saint Patanjali and its যোগ তত্ত্ব to saint ব্যাঘ. The Yoga system is therefore also called প্রাত্নেন-দর্শন. ভোগবাচ্চা'র গ্রন্থসমূহ is an important comment on the Sutras. For information in detail regarding practices of যোগ, we must refer to দ্বিযোগপ্রদীপিকা of যাজ্ঞবালয়েগীক্ষ. Other texts are the গোবৰ্ণশতক and the ধেমঙ্গসংহিতা.

### Heterodox or heretic Philosophy.

1. Buddhism. The Buddha and his pupils taught in Pali i.e. the spoken Prakrit. It was the মূলসর্কাণ্ডিবাদিন্স who from the first period of their activity adopted Sanskrit as the language of the school and we have fragments of their canons from the উদানবর্গ, ধৰ্মপদ, একোভুগমন and সংবৃতাগম as well as the বিনয় texts. Much more important is the মথাবৎ, a বিনয় text of the লোকেশ্বরবাদিন্স school of the মহাসাঙ্গিক্ষ which presents us with a partial Buddha biography including many জাতক stories of the Buddha in previous births. In its account of the ten stages through which a বোধিসূত্র must move to achieve Buddhahood it reveals a new

attitude The **सनितविद्वत्** gives a biography of the Buddha altered in the sense of the Mahayana development of Buddhism The book is full of miracles It is written in prose in Sanskrit with verse portions in mixed sanskrit Its spirit of reverence of the Buddha corresponds to the artistic revolution of the गङ्कारण् art revealing the portrait of the Buddha The **महायानश्वेतपाद** of अ॒र्थोदय is more simply philosophical and develops a very complex system of thought in which the influence of the Brahmanical absolute appears distinctly operative The अ॒ध्यात्म are numerous In addition to the अ॒वदानशंक and the दिव्यावदान we have शारि शत्यावदान a collection of 22 tales in prose with verses उत्तरकल्पावदान 34 legends in verse, and अ॒तावदान लाजा a collection of legends to explain certain ritual vows In काव्य style we have the अ॒वदान अ॒म्बल ११ of polymath क्रौञ्चेन्द्र of Kasmir the 108th tale being added by his son शोमेन्द्र with an introduction Of the अ॒वदान लाजे proper the **सच्चर्चमुक्तोक्त** occupies the most prominent place It is in prose with mixed sanskrit verse sections Of more philosophical content is the लाजा॑तावदान in which nihilistic and idealistic doctrines are found The **पश्चूमीद्वर नवायानहृत्** deals with the ten stages to Buddhahood The **सग्गायिका** deals with meditation The अ॒ज्ञापारमिताः merely assert that intelligence the highest of the perfections (**पात्रमिता**) of the Buddha consists in the recognition of the vacuity (**शून्यता**) of everything The **माध्यमिकहृत्** of नागार्जुन brings out the views of the अ॒ज्ञापारमिताः far better He was a Brahman of the south and contemporary of अ॒र्थोदय

To नागार्जुन are attributed also धर्मसंग्रह and सूक्ष्मज्ञेय. The विज्ञानवाद school is represented by असद्द's बोदिसत्त्वनि, part of the धोगाचारभूमिकाप्राप्ति and the नहाधान शब्दालकार in verse with comment. Asanga's brother वसुवद्ध wrote गाथासःग्रह and the अधिधर्मकोश of which we have धर्मोनिति's व्याख्या in Sanskrit which is one of the most important sources of our knowledge of the tenets of the मर्कण्डीयवादिन् and other schools of the Hinayana. His परमार्थ-सम्पत्ति is an attack on the Sankhya system.

**2 Jainism :** Jain philosophy, originally written in Prakrit, was driven by the advantage of Sanskrit to make use also of that language and in the उमार्थाधिगमस्त्र of उमाधाति ( Umaswati ) we find in sutras and commentary a very careful summary of the system. ननुष्टेत्त्र wrote in the 7th century the आच्छान्नासांसा on which अकलक �commented. उच्चत्त्र's ज्ञानार्णव belongs to 800 A.D. To सकलकौटि in the 15th century we owe तत्त्वार्थावदीपिका which contains a full account of the दिग्द्युम्न sacred books. The Jain contribution to philosophy lies in the effort to solve the contrast between what is abiding and what passes away by insisting that there is an abiding reality, which, however, is constantly enduring change. But any serious development of metaphysics was prevented by the necessity of accepting as given the Jain traditional philosophy which could not be rationalised.

**Buddhism and Jainism :** On the Sankhya philosophy are based the two philosophical religions of Buddhism and Jainism. Their fundamental doctrine is that life is nothing but suffering. The cause

of this suffering is the desire based on ignorance, to live and enjoy the world. The aim of both is to redeem mankind from the misery of mundane existence by total annihilation of desire, with the aid of renunciation of the world and practice of unbounded kindness towards all creatures. These two religions are so very similar that the Jains or adherents of Mahavira (महावीर) were long looked upon as a Buddhistic sect. Both the religions deny the existence of an eternal supreme deity.

**3 Charvakas** (चार्वाक) or **Lokayatas** (लोकायत)

— Materialists existed in early India and were condemned by Buddhists and Brahmins alike. They have no works and we have only summaries of their doctrines by their opponents. There is of course no doubt that works were current under the name of चूर्णपति. The term चार्वाक applied to it may have been due to a teacher of that name or be an abusive nick name from a famous infidel. The लोकायत or चार्वाक school was peculiarly heretical, for it not only rejected the authority of the Vedas and Brahmanical ceremonial but denied the doctrines of transmigration and salvation accepted by all other systems. To this school matter is the only reality. Soul, according to this school is nothing but the body with the attribute of intelligence. चूर्णपति the founder of the चार्वाक school held the soul to be created when the body is formed by combination of the elements. The true nature of things is the cause from which all phenomena proceed. On the moral side, the system is pure

hedonism, for the only end of man is here stated to be sensual pleasure and nothing else.

**The eclectic movement**—It is a doctrine that combines सांख्य, योग and वेदान्त ( Sankhya, Yoga and Vedanta ) together, the oldest literary representative being the श्वेताश्वत्र उपनिषद् ( Swetaswatara Upanishad ). More famous is the श्रीमद्भगवद् गीता ( the gita ) in which the supreme being incarnate as Krishna ( कृष्ण ) expounds to Arjuna ( अर्जुन ) his doctrine in this sense, the burthen of his teaching being that the zealous performance of his duty is a man's most important task to whatever caste or creed he may belong. There is a close resemblance between the bhakti doctrine proclaimed in the Gita and the christian ideas. From an inscription on a stone column found at Besnagar near Bhilsa, we know that in the second century B.C. even a Greek had adopted the Gita creed.

**Historians of Philosophy**. There is no regular history of Indian philosophy, the most that was achieved was the grouping of systems by reason of their similarities and accounts of contending views based on the desire to prove by this means the superiority of some doctrine or other. The common view of six orthodox systems grouped in pairs, (1) Purva mimansa and Vedanta, (2) Sankhya and Yoga and (3) Nyaya and Vaisesika, because they accept the Veda as authoritative, is not very early. In the नवदर्शनसिद्धान्त-संग्रह we find accounts of the लोकायतिक, the Jain system, the Buddhist schools, माध्यमिक, योगाचार्स, सौभ्राण्डिक and बैशेषिक, ताय, पूर्व-

ଶୈମାଙ୍ଗୀ ( both of ଅଭାକର and କୁମାରିଣ chools ), ସାତ ଥୀ  
ପାତ୍ରଶାସ୍ତ୍ର ( or Yoga ) and Vedonta ( of different schools )  
The ସର୍ବଦର୍ଶନସ ଏହ deals with the systems arranged from  
the point of view of relative error. The ସର୍ବଦର୍ଶନ ଏହ  
sets three vedic schools against three non vedic de-  
scribes Jaiୟ �Buddhist and materialist views and then  
sets out ବୈଶେଷିକ and ଜ୍ଞାନୀୟ as ଏକାକ୍ରମୀ the theistic and  
atheistic ମୁଖୀଁ ଓ ମୌଳିକୀୟ ଓ କ୍ରମାନ୍ତ୍ର ଓ ଶୈମାଙ୍ଗୀ

### Lecture 9

#### MEDICINE ( ଆୟୁର୍ଵେଦ )

**Development of Indian medicine** The-  
ଆୟୁର୍ବେଦ or ବୈଜ୍ଞାନିକ, science of the doctor par excellence  
is an ଉପାଧି of the ଅଧିକରଣ and has eight topics major  
Surgery minor surgery healing of disease demoo-  
logy children's diseases toxicology clixirs and aphro-  
disiacs Patanjali proves the early cultivation of  
the science in Sanskrit by mentioning ବୈଜ୍ଞାନିକ along with  
the ଅଶ୍ଵିନୀ and ଇତିହାସ ପୁରାଣ and ବାକୋଦାର୍ୟ ଆତ୍ମେସ କାନ୍ତ୍ରିକ  
ହାତୀତ ଅଗ୍ରିବେଦ and ତେବେ were the sages who gave instruc-  
tion on ଆୟୁର୍ବେଦ Amongst the sages ଆତ୍ମେସ is declared  
to have been the founder of the science The illustrious  
ଚାଣ୍କୟ is also credited with writing on medicine.  
Buddhist tradition talks of ବୌଦ୍ଧ a pupil of ଆତ୍ମେସ os  
an expert on children's diseases The ବିନ୍ଦୁପିଣ୍ଡିକ ଓ  
other texts speak of a wide knowledge in elementary  
medicinoe surgical instruments the use of hot baths.

&c. The oldest of the extant Sanhitas is the Charaka Sanhita ( চারকসংহিতা ) of চৱক who was a physician of king Kaniksha ( কণিক ) whose wife he cured in a critical case. It is said to have been revised and enlarged by মুর্বণ, a Kasmirian, son of Kapilabala of the 8th century. শুভ্রত ( Susruta ) is equally famous with Charaka and is named with আত্মেন্দ্র and হাস্তীত in the Bower manuscript, while the মহাভারত represents him to be a son of বিখ্যামিত্র and নাগাজুন is credited with having worked over his text. চক্রপাণি-দত্ত's commentary of the 11th century on সুভ্রতসংহিতা is well known. The older commentaries of কৈব্যট, গমদাম and চক্রপাণি-দত্ত have all been supplemented by the comment of Dallana ( ডলন ) of the 13th century. মাধব নিদান is the last treatise on medicine. Later medical works :

(1) অষ্টাদশ সংগ্রহ of বৃন্দবাগ্ভট, (2) অষ্টাদশহস্তসংহিতা of বাগ্ভট, (3) ক্লগ্রিফিনিশয় of মাধবকুর, son of ইন্দুকুর, ( is an important treatise on pathology ) (4) চিকিৎসা-নামসংগ্রহ of চক্রপাণি দত্ত on therapeutics (1060 A. D ), and (5) ভাবপ্রকাশ of ভাবমিশ্র (16th century). Historically important is the branch of Indian literature dealing with the merits of metallic preparations of which quick-silver ( পারদ or প্রদেশির ) ranks first in importance. রসরস্তাকুর of নাগাজুন, প্রসাৰ্ব, রসস্বদ্য, রসরস্তম্ভুচ্ছয় of বাগ্ভট and রসেন্দ্রচিষ্টামণি of ব্রাহ্মণ are very important texts. There was a profound difference between the Greek and the Indian enumeration of bones in the body. But Greece borrowed from India the use of several medicinal plants.

## Lecture 10

## Astronomy, Astrology and Mathematics

**1 Pre scientific period** In India thought on astronomy was ever mixed with those on astrology and mathematics. In vedic period we find very little sign of astronomical study. The year is reckoned vaguely and the 27 nakshatras (lunar stations) are of dubious origin. At the close of the vedic period we have elaborate works on the calendar evinced in the sutras and summed up in the ज्योतिषवेदान् preserved in two versions for the यजुर्वेद and the Rigveda. We find here a calendar arranged on the basis of a five year yuga with a 366 day year notices of the position of the sun and moon at the solstices and at new moon (अवधि) and full moon (पूर्णिमा) with regard to the nakshatras (constellations). Some further development is found in the गार्गी साहित्य and the बृहगण्डन्यहिता. The Jain text chiefly the यजुर्वेदान् is of this type. But all these texts seem to be ignorant of the mean motions of the sun and moon yet they contribute to the scientific period two ideas of great importance the conception of great yugas during which a complete change of the heavenly bodies is carried out so that a new yuga (युग) begins with all of them in the same places as the preceding yuga and the conception of the lunar day (सिंहि) which is a 30th part of a synodical month. Distinctly interesting results were attained in geometry as a result.

of the care taken in the measurement of altars The results of these measures are enshrined in the Sulbasutras ( ଶ୍ରେଷ୍ଠ ) 200 B. C.). They are concerned with the construction of squares and rectangles, the relation of the diagonal to the sides, the equivalence of rectangles and squares and the construction of equivalent-squares and circles. We find the Pythagorean problem stated in general.

**2 The period of Siddhantas** Barahamihira ( 530 587 A, D ) has preserved in his ପଞ୍ଚମିକାତ୍ତିକା information of the contents of five siddhantas of an earlier date Two of these siddhantas bear non-Indian names, the ରୋମକସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ and the ପୌଲିଶସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ The ଶୂର୍ଯ୍ୟସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ asserts that it was revealed by ଶୂର୍ଯ୍ୟ to ମୟ ଅଶ୍ଵର in ରୋମକ. The ରୋମକ adopts not the Indian ସ୍ଵଗ system but one of its own, namely the Metonic period of 19 years multiplied by 150 which gives the smallest ସ୍ଵଗ exactly divisible into integral numbers of lunar months and civil days Further it makes calculations for the meridian of yavanapura ( i. e. the city of the Greeks ) and the Paulisa ( ପୌଲିଶ i. e. of the Paulus Alexandrians ), which does not adopt a constant yuga ( ସ୍ଵଗ ), but operates with specially constructed short periods of time gives the difference in longitude between yavanapura and Ujjain Again the Romaka alone of Indian works operates with the tropical revolutions of the sun and moon, while the ଶୂର୍ଯ୍ୟସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ and the Paulisa deal with sidereal revolutions The ଶୂର୍ଯ୍ୟସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ shows the process of adaptation of the new science to Indian ideas It accepts the Kalpa system and gives a

general role for the equation of the centre and its full treatment of eclipses contrasts with the meagre rules of the Romaka and the rough formulae of the Paulisa. The division of the ecliptic into the zodiacs ( नक्षत्र ) yields to that into the signs of the zodiac ( राशिक ) with names from the Greek. The motions of the planets neglected hitherto came to be explained by the doctrine of epicycles, the notion of parallax and methods of calculating it were introduced, new methods of calculating eclipses appeared, the heliacal rising & setting of heavenly bodies was studied, specially with astronomical reference, correct measurements of day and night were achieved, the length of the year was revised and the names of the planetary week days were introduced. Here we find to the Paulisa as also to the other Siddhantas an important contribution to trigonometry to the shape of a table of sines ( which appears to have been borrowed from Ptolemy's table of chords differing from him by dividing the radius into 120 parts while Ptolemy divided it into 60 parts) and thus enabling the value given for the chords to be taken over bodily for the sines of half the angles. It is in  $\text{पृथिवी}$  alone that we find the radius as 3438 with the necessary change of sine values. The exact mode and date of the introduction of these Greek elements according to Whitney fell in a period before the syntaxis of Ptolemy, for it was Ptolemy alone who first took into account the anomalies in planetary motions dependent on the distance of the planet from the sun and its distance from the apsis. The

Vasistha ( वासिष्ठ ) and the Paulisa siddhantas took note of planetary anomalies. The old and original यूर्ध्यमिकाण्ड shows us a specifically Indian reaction ; it accepts where it thinks fit the new matter, but it fits it in as far as may be with the old. It reveals in the theory of Kalpas, restores the pre-eminence of mount Meru at the north Pole, finds room for the नक्षत्रः and so on. None of the Siddhantas which Barahamihira had before him has come down to us in its original form. We know that उत्तोःपल had before him a Paulisa so changed as to render the retention of the same name anomalous. The वैतामह-सिद्धान्तः of वराहग्निहितः differed little from the prescientific period. It differed from the अग्निसिद्धान्तः forming part of the विश्वधर्मोत्तरपुराण on which ऋग्वेदाङ्ग's यूट्त्राङ्गसिद्धान्तः is based and from the एकदिव्यसिद्धान्तः or शाकलयसिद्धान्तः, all of which present the orthodox modern doctrines. The रोमकसिद्धान्तः was touched up by लाट ( 505 A D. ) and was later revised in the modern sense by श्रीदेव who wrote after लाट and before एकाशम्. The वासिष्ठसिद्धान्तः appears before ऋग्वेदाङ्ग's time to have been revised by विजयनन्दिन् and then by विश्वचंद्र. The यूर्ध्यमिकाण्ड we have now is in many respects modernized from the original by लाट according to Alberuni.

Before the discovery of the पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका, the credit of introducing new ideas into Indian astronomy was given to आर्योऽट्टे of कुशमपुर ( 476-525 A D. ). We have of him only the आर्योऽट्टैश्च in the shape of 10 stanzas in आर्या वerses, the दण्डगीतिकाण्डत् wherein he gives his numerical notation, and the आर्योऽट्टेत ( in 108 आर्या )

verses) divided into the गणित (33 stanzas on mathematics), 25 stanzas on measurement of time (कालगणित), and 50 stanzas on the sphere (गोल). His other works are lost. He does not advance much beyond the old आर्द्धसिद्धान्त and his views often agree with those of Paulisa. But this was the first work to show a distinct chapter on mathematics in relation to astronomy and his division of astronomical topics was quite effective. It was he who first held that the earth is round and rotates on its axis which was not approved by वदाहिनिहर्ष nor वृक्षशत्रु. He did not believe in the height of Meru he equated the four लुग्गas and he ascribed eclipses (not in the operation of राह) to the moon and the shadow of the earth for which he has been severely censured by वृक्षशत्रु. From a second आर्द्धसिद्धान्त dated about 950 A.D. In addition to लाट and आर्द्धसिद्धान्त वदाहिनिहर्ष mentions सिद्धान्तशास्त्र and विषयनिदिन्. His work lay mainly in the field of astrology (ज्योतिषज्यालिष) but his गणितसिद्धान्त is of very high historical importance. He declines to accept conjunctions of planets as explaining eclipses. Brahmagupta (598 A.D.) son of फिलू of Bhillimalla near Multan was the author of the आर्द्धसिद्धान्त or चृत्सिद्धान्त (628 A.D.). In 665 he wrote गोप्यान्तरक a karanika i.e. a practical treatise giving material for astronomical calculations. In his सिद्धान्त he attacks severely अर्द्धसिद्धान्त. Like अर्द्धसिद्धान्त he excelled in Mathematics and a chapter of his सिद्धान्त is devoted to the mathematical solution of astronomical problems. To Bhoja is inscribed the ग्रन्थमुग्राम in karanaa of 1042 A.D. and the भाष्यतंत्री,

a karana, by शतानन्द, begins its reckoning from A.D. 1099. Far more important is the सिद्धार्थशिल्पोन्मि of भास्कराचार्य, written in 1150 A.D. It falls into four parts, the नीलावती and वैजगणित, containing the mathematical parts, and the ग्रहगणित and गोल, containing astronomy proper. In the ग्रेल there is a section on astronomical problems, a treatise on astronomical instruments, and a description of the seasons. His क्रमण्डुभूति dates from 1178 A.D. His attitude is that of the शूर्यसिद्धान्त and एकाण्ड, but he is clear and precise, while his commentary makes his ambiguous phrases quite intelligible.

**Mathematics:** (1) आर्धिकोटि was the first to insert definitely mathematical section in astronomy. He deals with involution and evolution, area and volumes. After a semi-astronomical section dealing with the circle, shadow problem &c. he proceeds to progressions and algebraic identities. After dealing with examples he proceeds to in-determinate equations &c. His notation is unique. (2) Brahmagupta's work covers the ordinary arithmetical operations, square and cube roots, rule of three, interest, progressions, geometry including treatment of the rational rightangled triangle and the elements of circle, elementary mensuration of solids, shadow problems, negative and positive quantities, ciphers, surds, simple algebraic identities, indeterminate equations of the first and second degrees in considerable detail, and simple equations of the first and second degrees. Special attention is given to cyclic quadrila-

terals (3) गणितसाम्राज्य of शशीद्राजा of the 9th century under the Rashtra kuta king अमोघवर्ष Though fuller the book is more elementary than that of दक्षश It gives many examples of solutions of indeterminates and introduces geometrical progressions and deals with eclipses (4) वीरेन्द्र in his खिंचौ deals with quadratic equations in addition (5) The लीलावती of भाष्माचार्य, based on वीरेन्द्र's work and the work of दक्षश includes permutations and combinations and indeed it is the most systematic account of Indian algebra. Here the author teaches mathematics to his widowed daughter Līlavati who afterwards turned out to be one of the greatest mathematicians in India.

**Astrology (जनिटर्ज्ञासिव)**—That the celestial bodies exercise influence on the fate of men and that the future can be foretold from their aspect is a very early belief in India. Whether it appeared independently in India or it was borrowed from Babylon is still to be ascertained. In the Brahmanas and the smritis we find recognition of the idea of a lucky star and the Dharmas smritis demand that the king shall have an astrologer just as he has a house chaplain, while the अर्थात् rāks court hards the servants of the chaplain and astrologers among the lower court functionaries. In war an astrologer was essential to foretell the result from the signs and to encourage the army and terrify the enemy. The Buddhists denounce the occupation राजाहस्तिश्च whose great work (इश्वर महात्मा) caused all the older texts on astrology to disappear mentioning असिद्धादेव,

ମର୍ଗ, ବୃକ୍ଷଗର୍ଭ, ନାରଦ and ପରାଶ୍ରାଵ amongst authorities. We have still fragments of the ବୃକ୍ଷଗର୍ଭସଂହିତା or ଗାଗୀମଂହିତା. ସରାହମିହିଲ divides the science of Jyotis ( ଜ୍ୟୋତିତିବ ) into three branches. The first, the astronomical and mathematical foundations, is called ତତ୍ତ୍ଵ, the next, ହୋରା (hora), deals with horoscopes ( ଫେଣ୍ଟି ), the third, ସଂହିତା ( Sanhita ), covers the sphere of natural astrology. The ବୃହ୍ତ ସଂହିତା of ବରାହମିହିଲ is the greatest authority on astrology ( କଲିତ'ଜ୍ୟୋତିତିବ ). ପୃଥୁବନ୍ଦୁ, son of ବରାହମିହିଲ, wrote a ହୋରାର୍ଯ୍ୟଟ୍ରିପକାଶିକା on nativities, on which ଭଟ୍ଟୋଧିପଳ commented. ଭଟ୍ଟୋଧିପଳ himself wrote a ହୋରାଶାନ୍ତ୍ର in 25-  
verses.

## Lecture 11.

### SANSKRIT DRAMA ( ଋପକ )

**Origin of Sanskrit drama** (1) Indian tradition of the origin of dramatic literature : Tradition in Saint Bharata's Natyasastra ( ଶାର୍ଚ ନାଟ୍ୟଶାସ୍ତ୍ର ), the oldest text on the theory of drama, claims for it a divine origin and a close connection with the sacred Vedas. Creation of this new form of literature was reserved to the silver age ( ଚେତ୍ୟାୟଗ ), when the gods approached Brahman (the all father, and prayed to him for production of something to give pleasure to the ears and the eyes alike, a fifth veda which might be shared by

all alike (irrespective of caste and creed) Brahma gave ear to the prayer and designed to fashion a Veda in which historical chronicles should be combined with instruction in all the ends of men. He took from the Rigveda the element of recitation from the Sama Veda song from the Yajurveda the mimetic art and from the Atharvan Veda sentiment. He then bade Viswakarman the divine architect, build a play house in which the divine sage Bharata was instructed to carry into practice the art thus created. The gods accepted with joy the new creation. Siva contributed to it the tandava dance (तांडव मृत्यु) expressing strong emotion and Parvati, his spouse the tender and Voluptuous dance, lasya (लाज्जा), while Vishnu was responsible for the invention of the four dramatic styles, essential to the effect of the play (i.e. the four mūrtis called भारती नाट्ये आदिती and देवनिधि). To saint Bharatn fell the duty of transferring to the भद्रस्थाप (i.e. Hindusthana) this celestial Veda in the form of the नाट्यशास्त्र. According to श्रीरामचन्द्रम् the stage must be two storied (द्विचोटीक) and either ellipsoidal विकृत, गोलाकार; rectangular (त्रिकृत भाग); or triangular (अज्ञीय त्रिकोणीय). The length of the stage may be either 108 cubits or 64 cubits or 32 cubits. All incidents relating to the gods (देव) and the people of paradise (देवता ननिवासी) are to be represented on the upper floor and the rest on the ground floor.

**Dialogues** From the dialogues in the Rigveda & their commentaries we may fairly assume that the period of the Rigveda knew dramatic spectacles,

religious in character, in which the priests assumed the roles of gods & sages in order to imitate the events of paradise. Ethnology shows us the close relation of music, dance & drama among many peoples. According to Dr. Hertel the hymns represent the beginnings of dramatic art, which may be compared with the form of the GitaGovinda. The vedic ritual did not consist merely of the singing of songs or recitations in honour of the gods, it involved a complex round of ceremonies in some of which there was undoubtedly present the element of dramatic representation i. e. the performers of the rites assumed for the time being personalities other than their own. In the মহাবৃত we find elements which are of importance as indicating the materials from which the drama developed. Of many elements which enter into drama we find the songs of the সাগর্বেদ and the use of ceremonial dances

**Religion & drama:** original dramas were religious. They owe their origin to the national epics. Krishna plays an important part in early dramas. The part of Rama chandra in the growth of the drama was not less important than that of Krishna. The religious importance of the drama is seen distinctly in the attitude of the Buddhists towards it. The dramatic performances described in the Harivansa (হরিবংশ) support the theory that it was originally connected with the Krishna-cult. Saint Bharata was the author of the science of dancing and vocal and instrumental music—all these

three being the elements of the drama. He is said to have learnt it from Brahman and played it before Siva. The poet Bhavabutī (ভবভূতি) makes saint Valmiki (বাল্মীকি) a contemporary of saint Bharata. Again the Harivamsa speaks of a নাটকীয়ত্ব-শাস্ত্রীয় the authorship of which is attributed to Valmiki by Bhavabutī in his Uttara Ramacharita (উত্তরারামচরিত). The original নাটক of saint Bharata still remains undiscovered. The আর্ণবানাট্য শাস্ত্র ascribed to him is most probably a later digest bearing to the original sutra some relation as the কামসূত্র নৌমিশাস্ত্র bears to the কেনিষ্ঠ অর্থশাস্ত্র recently discovered.

**The epics on drama.** There is no express mention of any drama in either the Ramayana or the Mahabharata.

**Grammarians on drama.** In Panini we find mention of নাটসূত্র (nata sutras) text books for natas ascribed to Silalin (শিলালিন) & ক্রিশ্ণ (Krisaswami) the fact being recorded because of the formation of the names assumed by their followers শৈলালিনস and ক্রিশ্ণিনস. In the প্রাচীনকার্য of Patanjali we find from his criticism on a rule laid down by কার্ত্তৃজ্ঞ as to the use of the এত of things which a person has himself seen that it was normal to use in his time phrases describing a past event as if it had occurred before the eyes of the speaker in dramatic representation. We get the names কুদৰ্দ and বণিবন্ধন by way of illustration.

**Different theories on the origin of drama.**

(1) Profs Hillebrandt and Konow are of opinion that originally there existed a popular mime which

with the epic, lies at the bottom of Sanskrit drama. (2) Prof. Pischel holds that the puppet-play is the source of Sanskrit drama and that drama has its home in India, whence it has spread over the world. In his opinion the shadow-dramas (ছারাকপক) were the original dramas. (3) Prof. E. B. Hoerwitz is of opinion that the Indian drama originated from the ancient custom of reciting the national poems at social and religious gatherings (4) Prof Ridway, on the other hand, holds that there can be no doubt that the desire to honour the great has been from the earliest times the leading factors in the origin of the Hindu drama. Thus, according to him, the Hindu drama, like the Hindu epic, had its origin in ballads composed in honour of the actual exploits of famous men According to Prof Macdonell, the earliest forms of dramatic literature in India are represented by those hymns of the Rigveda which contain dialogues. The origin of the acted drama is wrapped in obscurity The dance (নাচ) probably represented the beginning of the Indian drama. It must have at first consisted only of rude pantomimes in which the dancing or movement of the body was accompanied by mute gestures of the hand and face Songs, doubtless, early formed an ingredient in such performances. The addition of dialogues was the last step in the development. According to Prof. Windische the New Attic Comedy which flourished from 340-260 B. C. must be deemed the source of influence on Indian drama From Periplus it is known

that Alexandria under the Lagidai became a great centre of Greek learning and that bet Alexandria and Ujjiyini through the port of Birygaza there was a brisk exchange of trade which might have aided in intellectual contact. More value attaches to the argument from the use of राज्ञी (or in prakrit राजिणी) for the name of the curtain which covered the tiring room and formed the brief ground of the stage. Another value attaches to the argument from the use of the term रक्षिता or Greek maidens used as body guards of the kings in Sanskrit dramas. Besides the points of resemblance in regard to the plot are of interest. There is some similarity between the stock theme of the राजिणी the love theme of a king for a maiden hindered by various obstacles and finally successful through events which reveal her as a princess destined for him in marriage but concealed in this aspect by one accident) and the new comedy picture of the youth whose affection for a fair lady apparently of status which forbids marriage by Attic law but in reality of equal birth is finally rewarded by the discovery of the mark which leads to her identification. The use of a mark of recognition is undoubtedly common in both dramas (Mark the ring of recognition in अङ्गानवृद्धि the seal of Raksha in the शुद्धिकाम) These are striking facts and the only way to meet them is to show that the motifs in Sanskrit drama have no earlier history in the literature and can be regarded as natural developments. The characters of the drama present

problems which are not solved by the theory of borrowing. Prof Windisch lays most stress on his comparison of the three characters of the विटे, विद्युषक, and शकार with the parasite, the servus, currens and the miles gloriosus of the Greek drama and his arguments are altogether not without great weight. It is true that these three, with the शूद्रधार and his assistant, are given by the नाट्यशास्त्र in a list of actors and that the five correspond fairly closely with the male personnel of the Greek drama. It is also true that, while कालिदास and the मृच्छकटिक with the चाक्रदत्त know the शकार, he vanishes from the later dramas and the विटे shows comparatively little life, suggesting that the Greek borrowings were gradually felt unsuited to India and died a natural death. But the argument is inadequate to prove the borrowing. The विटे is, indeed, more akin to the parasite than to any other character of the Greek or Roman comedy, but the parasite is lacking in the refinement and culture of his Indian counter part, who is clearly drawn from life, the witty and accomplished companion who is paid to amuse his patron, but whose dependence does not make him the object of insolence and bad jokes. The विद्युषक has his origin in the religious drama, his Brahman caste and his use of Prakrit can best thus be explained. The similarity between the शकार and the miles gloriosus is by no means small, but the argument from borrowing is refused by the reflection that such a figure can be explained perfectly easily from the actual life of India in the period of

Bhasa and the शृङ्खलिक when mercenary soldiers must have been painfully familiar to Indians. The number of actors is certainly not in accord with the Greek practice. The अभिज्ञान शृङ्खला has 30 the शूद्रावाक्यम् 24 and it is only in the later and less inventive उवरुचि that we find but 13 in the गामदैश्वर्यम् and 11 in the देवदत्तम्. The prologue ( उत्तरवना ) in both dramas serves the purpose of announcing the author's name the title of the play, and the desire of the dramatist for a sympathetic reception but the Indian prologue is closely attached to the preliminaries and has a definite and independent character of its own in the conversation between the राज्यकार्ता and the लड़ी ( his wife ) the chief actress so that borrowing is out of the question. There is similarity between the protagonist and the राज्यकार्ता for both undertake the leading parts in the drama but this and other minor points are of no value as proofs of historical connection. More recently the tendency to find Greek influence in the making of the Sanskrit drama has turned to the mime which was performed without masks and huskins as was the Indian drama. Moreover the mime had a curtain ( siparium ) comparing with the curtain of India. There was no scene painting in the mime different dialects were used and the number of actors was considerable. The zelotypos in the mime has some similarity to the शप्तकर्ण and the mokos in the विश्वक. But they are no positive proofs on behalf of Greek influence in the making of the Sanskrit drama.

The Sakas and the Sanskrit drama Prof.

Levi holds that the rise of the Sanskrit drama is to be attributed to the **શક્સ** whose advent to India was one of the causes of the rapid decadence of the Greek principalities in the north west. The theory is based on a general view of the elevation of Sanskrit to the rank of the language of literature, as opposed to its restriction to use as the learned and sacred language of the Brahmins. The inscriptions show that Sanskrit as an epigraphic language was introduced by Rudradaman whose Girnar inscription of 150 A.D. is wholly in Sanskrit, though Sanskrit appears in part in Ushavadatta's inscription of A.D. 124. The Western Kshatrapas, of Saka origin, were, he holds, the first to bring Sanskrit down to earth, as contrasted with the Hindu and orthodox Satakarnis of the Deccan who retained Prakrit in their inscriptions down to the third century A.D. The character of the શકારૂ may be regarded in this light, in its hostility to the શક્સ it reveals a period when either a prince was opposed to the શક rule or the શક dominion had just fallen and was fresh in the minds of the people. A specific connection between the શક્સ and the creation of drama may be seen in the terminology of the નાટ્યશાસ્ત્ર and that of their inscriptions. But the discovery of Aswaghosha's fragments shows that the drama has already attained a very definite and complete form. Thus the theory that the western kshatrapas introduced Sanskrit into the drama falls hopelessly to the ground on chronological considerations alone. The error owes its origin to

the belief that the drama developed as a Prakrit drama before it was turned into Sanskrit But from the राजाण्य we know that the Sanskrit Kavya and drama existed before the existence of any Prakrit Kavya or drama The discovery of Aswaghosha's fragments undoubtedly brings the creation of the drama at least very closely up to time of latanjali if not earlier The first century BC can with fair certainty be assumed to be very late t period for the appearance of genuine Sanskrit drama

The evidence of the Prakrits That the drama was also in part in Prakrit from the outset seems extremely probable The mere recitation of the epic indeed did not demand any intervention of Prakrit but that such recitations by them selves would produce a true drama is most improbable and we may legitimately hold that it was only the union of these recitations with action from the religious contest that produced the drama In that contest the lower classes were represented and they spoke their own language In the vedic राजाण्य we can not suppose that the वैष्णो who contested the right of the Vaisya to the symbol of the sun spoke in Sanskrit nor that the Brahman and the hetaera exchanged their ritual abuse in the classical tongue or its vedic antecedent The religious festival in which राजा appeared as slaying Kamsa must similarly have demanded the use of vernacular dialects by the humbler members of those who took part in it The fact that राजा appears mainly in the dialogue Sans

krit preeminentlly in verses, strengthens the view that the new drama derived its verse in the main from the epic recitation, its prose dialogue from the religious contest. As to the use of the different types of আঁচ্ছত in the drama, the শৌরসেনী was the language of the বিদ্যুক, the hetaera and of those who were born in আর্যাবর্ত, the মহারাষ্ট্ৰি had the honour of being the language of verses sung by maidens who would in prose speak শৌরসেনী. মাগধী and অঙ্গনাগধী were the dialects of the porters and other servants.

**Literary antecedents of the drama :—**The drama owes in part its origin to the epics of India, from them it derives largely its inspiration. From the epics also developed the Kavya, the refined, polished court epic. The predominating sentiment is the erotic ( শূদ্রাৱ ), the heroic ( বীৱ ) or occasionally that of calm ( শীঘ্ৰ ), other sentiments appearing in a subsidiary role ( অপ্রধানভাবেন ) The subject-matter is to be taken, either from tradition or not, but the heroes must be virtuous. The work begins with a prayer ( নান্দী ). The development of the plot employs five junctures ( সন্কল্প ) and one or other of the four aims of man ( পুরুষাৰ্থ ) wealth ( অৰ্থ ), love ( কাম ) performance of duty ( ধৰ্ম ) or emancipation ( মোক্ষ ) is to be attained by the action. It is on account of love of description in the epic that the verses in the drama are often overwhelmingly descriptive. A further source of literary inspiration in the drama must undoubtedly be seen in the work of the lyric poets.

## Lecture 12

## DEVELOPMENT OF SANSKRIT DRAMA

**1 Aswaghosha and Buddhist Drama** ( ଅସ୍ଵାଗୋଷା ଓ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିଗତ ) The discovery of fragments of manuscripts on Palm leaf at Turfan has through the favour of Prof Luders revealed to us the existence of at least three Buddhist dramas (1) Sariputra Prakarana ( ଶାରିପୁତ୍ର ପ୍ରକରଣ ) of Aswaghosha son of Suvarnalakshmi ( Suvarnalakshmi ) The full little of the work is ଶାରଦ୍ଵତୀପୁତ୍ର ପ୍ରକରଣ ( Saradvatiputra Prakarana ) and it is complete in 9 acts It deals with the eveots leading to the coaversioo of the youog Maudgalyayana ( ମୌଦ୍ଗଳ୍ୟାଯନ ) and Sariputra ( ଶାରିପୁତ୍ର ) by the Buddha It is a ଅକର୍ଣ୍ଣ ( a social drama) corresponding to the classical type as laid down in the Natyasastra of saint Bharata (2) The allegorical and the betaera dramas The same manuscript has also fragments of two other dramas There is no evidence of their authorship other than the fact that they appear in the same manu cript as the work of Aswaghosha and that they display the same general appearance as the work of that playwright The first of the two represents the type of the allegorical drama ଅବୋଧଚନ୍ଦ୍ରନ୍ଦମ୍ବ of Krishna Misra We find the allegorical

figures of Buddhi ( wisdom ), Kirti ( fame ) and Dhriti ( firmness), appearing and conversing. This is followed by the advent of the Buddha himself. But for this mixture of the real and the abstract ideal we have to go beyond Krishna Misra, who represents all his characters as abstract ideals ( Vishnu for instance by Faith in Vishnu ) to Kavikarnapura's glorification of Chaitanya in the 16th century, in which allegorical figures are mingled with Chaitanya and his followers, though they do not actually converse together. The characters speak Sanskrit, but the fragments are too short to give us any real information on the general trend of the play. The drama has a hetaera named Magadhbavati ( মগধবতী ), a Vidushaka named Komudhagandha ( কোমুদগন্ধ ), a hero styled only Nayaka ( নায়ক ), but probably named Somadatta ( সোমদত্ত ), a dushta ( দুষ্ট ) i.e. a rogue, without further name, a certain ধনঞ্জয় ( Dhananjaya ), who may possibly be a prince ( রাজ্যালক ), a maid servant and Sariputra and Maudgalyana. The drama was undoubtedly intended for purposes of religious edification, but what we have is too fragmentary to do more than show that the author was possessed of humour and that the Vidushaka was a hungry soul. The drama has many points of similarity with the মুক্তিবিদ্ব and shows close agreement with the classical model.

2. Bhasa. Kalidasa in his first drama মালবিকাপ্রিণি ( Malavikagni Mitra ) refers to Bhasa with Samilla ( সৌমিল ), Kaviputra ( কবিপুত্র ) and others as his-

predecessors to dramatic art whose fame renders difficult the acceptance of his own drama who was still then an untried hand Banabhitta at the beginning of the 7th century A D, states ( in his शक्तिकाव्य ) that Bhasa obtained fame by his dramas. A century later Vakpati ( in his कौण्डली ) declares his pleasure to Bhasa. Kavijn ekhami ( 900 A D ) places him amongst the classical poets. Bhasa's dramatic works first began to be published by शशी शास्त्री Ganapati Sastrin in 1912 and still now we have got only 13 works of the dramatist. It is quite difficult to arrive at a precise determination of Bhasa's date. That he was an illustrious predecessor of Kalidasa is quite certain. His dramatic works so far as we have got up to date are—(1) मधुमत्ययोग ( Madhyumatyyayoga ) in one act has a reminiscence of the tale of the love of the demoness Hidimba ( हिदिमा ) for Bhumisen the second of the Pindavas, and their marriage which had घटेष्ट ( Ghatotkach ) as issue inspite of the parting of the parents. (2) दुतघटेष्ट ( Duta Ghatotkach ) is also a व्यायोग indicating primarily a military spectacle. Here Ghatotkach appears before the jubilant Kauravas on the unfair death of Abhimanyu ( अभिमन्यु ) in the Kurukshetra war as an emissary of the Pandavas and predicts their punishment at the hands of his uncle Arjuna. (3) of the same general type is the कर्णभार ( Karna Bhara ) in one act which deals with Karna's armour ( ध्वज ) won from the great अर्जुन, with which he was making himself ready for a fight.

with Arjuna, when he was deprived of it by Indra, who appeared before him in the guise of a Brahman and obtained from him his armour and earrings. Karna with Salya (শল্য) the lord of the Madra country as his charioteer went out to battle and the sound of Arjuna's chariot was heard. (4) উরুভঙ্গ (Uru-bhanga) in one act is a drama with regard to the fight between Bhima and Duryodhana, greatest of the Kurus, ending in the breaking of the thigh of the latter, who falls in agony (5) The পঞ্চরাত্র (Pancha-ratra) in 3 acts is a drama in which there are more heroes than one and they more or less attain their ends, which seem to be the chief features of that dubious kind of play called সমবকারা (Samavakara). It reflects the period when efforts were being made to save the Kurus and the Pandavas from the fatal conflict which ends in the ruin of the former and grave loss to the latter. Dronacharya undertook a sacrifice for Duryodhana and sought as the fee the grant to the Pandavas of half the realm to which they had a just claim. Duryodhana promises on condition that they are heard of within 5 days. (6) দুতবাক্য (Duta Vakya) is a Vyayoga in one act. It deals with the fact of Krishna's failure in emissary before Duryodhana for bringing about peace between the Kauravas and the Pandavas through a proposal of partition of the kingdom (7) বালচরিত (Balacharita) presents us a picture of the feats of Krishna, culminating in the slaying of Kansa. It is a drama in 5 acts (7) The Pratima nataka (প্রতিমানাটক) in

7 acts describes the plot of the Ramayana from Ramachandra's exile to his return to Ayodhya by the aerial car ପୁଷ୍ପକ ( Pushpaka ) (8) The 7 acts of the ଅଭିଧାନାଟିକ are matched by the six acts of the ଅଭିଶେଖନାଟିକ (Abhisheka natika) the drama of the consecration of Ramachandra which follows like its predecessor the Ramayana We thus see that the poet took the plot of the Ramayana and composed two dramas on the same plot (9) ଅଦିଗାରକ (Adiga raka) is a drama in six acts with a plot from the Katha literature on the love of ଅଦିଗାରୀ and କୃତ୍ତବ୍ଯ daughter of king ହୃଦିତୋଷ (10) ଅଭିଜ୍ଞାଣୋଗକରାତ୍ମଣ (Pratijna yangandharayana) is a drama in 4 acts taken from the Brihat Katha of Gunadhyn with ସୌଗତକରାତ୍ମଣ the minister of the Vatsn King Udayana as the hero (11) The Swapna-Vnsavadatta or the Swapnanatak ( ସପ୍ନାମୟନ୍ତା or ସପ୍ନାଟିକ ) in six acts forms in substance the continuation of the ଅଭିଜ୍ଞାଣୋଗକରାତ୍ମଣ The fame of the work in ବାଙ୍ଗଶୈଥିରୁ's time is attested, and already before him the imaginary conflagration of the queen had excited the imitation of Harsha in the ବଞ୍ଚାବଳୀ [Indeed The ପ୍ରିୟଦର୍ଶିକା and its supplement the ବଞ୍ଚାବଳୀ two melodramas ( ନାଟିକା ) attributed to King Harsha are brimful of the incidents of the dramas ଅଭିଜ୍ଞାଣୋଗକରାତ୍ମଣ and the ସପ୍ନାମୟନ୍ତା or the ସପ୍ନାଟିକ ] (12) Great promise, in a different Vein is shown in the ଚାରୁଦତ୍ତ (Charudatta) of which we have only a fragment in 4 acts without beginning or final verses The ଦାରିଦ୍ରାକରୁତ (Daridra Charudatta) mentioned by Ahhinavagupta ( ଅଭିନ୍ୟକ୍ଷ୍ମ୍ଭୂତ ) is most pro-

bably the same work. From it are derived the first four acts of the *মুক্তিকাণ্ড*, attributed to শূদ্রক.

**Bhasa and Kalidasa :**—The probability of Kalidasa's acceptance of ideas from those of Bhasa, so illustrious a predecessor, is turned into certainty by numerous coincidences between the two. Of course, with such a genius as Kalidasa's, the matter borrowed is transformed and normally improved in the change. In act I of the *Sakuntala* the king is struck with the elegance of the simple bark-dress of the heroine in keeping with her station as a maiden of the hermitage (কিম্ব ইব হি শধুরাণঃ মণেনঃ নাস্ত গানাম) The germ of this pretty idea is found in the *Pratimanataka* act I where Sita playfully decks herself in a dress of bark, evoking the judgment of her friend (সর্ব-শোভনীৱঃ পুনঃ নাম) The fact of borrowing is established by the episode in act I of the *Sakuntala* of the treatment of watering the garden as an act of penance on the maiden's part an idea which occurs in a closely parallel passage in Act V of the *Pratimanataka*. In the same act of the *প্রতিমানাটক* we find রামচন্দ্র bidding সৌভা take farewell of the fawns and the trees, which are her foster children, and of her dear friends, the Vindya mountain and the creepers, in the departure of *Sakuntala* from the hermitage the trees and the fawns as well as the creepers share in the grief of her departure, of the deer is expressly used the term 'foster child' found in the *Pratimanataka*. Again in act VII of the *Pratimanataka* Sita is reminded of the distrust felt by the deer in Bharata,

just as Sakuntala describes their distrust of Dushyanta (Act V). There is a parallel in the शशसनकथा where शशसन is received kindly by the lady of the hermitage and thanks her for her courteous words, to the scene at the opening of the Sakuntala in which the king assures Anasuya that her speech of welcome is sufficient hospitality ( भृतोना इन् देवं निति फृत्य गतिराम्) The parallel is completed by the instruction given by the chamberlain in Bhāsa's play to the servant to avoid disturbance to the hermitage with commands of the king to the commander-in-chief. Similar also is the scene in act II of the शशसनकथा in which during the play of शशसन and शशसन in disguise reference is made to the former's approaching marriage to the talk of शशसन's friends with her in Act I. We have also in Act VI of either play a parallel treatment of the lute lost by शशसन in one case and the ring lost by शशसन in the other, the verses in which the innocent objects of pleasure are attacked being similar in spirit and taste. The motif of the curse of Durva is explained in the Sakuntala the sufferings of the hermit suggests the curse of चक्रवर्ति in the अदिग्रन्थ reducing the hero to a humble rank and so the Sakuntala the lovers are reunited at the hermitage of saint शशसन as in the अदिग्रन्थ they meet at the abode of saint शशसन. But we can not but observe that Kalidasa's dramas as they stand do not agree with the rule observed in those of Bhāsa regarding the beginning of the drama.

published by Mahamahopadhyaya Ganapati Sastrin are works of भास as they are works of great poetical merit worthy of the name of Bhasa. भास was undoubtedly a great poet and above all a dramatic genius Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti were no doubt greater poets, greater masters of language than भास, but in the whole of Sanskrit literature no drama, according to Dr Winternitz, could compare as a stage-play with any one of the 13 plays ascribed to Bhasa, for all classical dramas are more or less book-dramas, while these 13 plays are one and all the works of a born dramatist wonderfully adapted to the stage

### Lecture 13.

#### Precursors of Kalidasa.

Precursors of Kalidasa : (1) Bhasa, (2) Saumilla mentioned by Rajasekhara along with Ramilla (रामिल्ल) as co-workers composing a शृङ्खकथा (a tale on the union of the sentiment of love and heroism), (3) Kaviputras were two who were also collaborators like Somilla and Ramilla, (4) Sudraka, author of the social drama ( अकबण ) मृच्छकटिक, was a king. The first four acts of the drama had its origin in the चार्णो-

ଅକ୍ଷରଣ of Bhasa To ଶୁଦ୍ଧିକ we can not but ascribe the originality of combining the political and the love intrigue which give together a special value to the play The conception of the science of theft is neatly paralleled in the ମଧ୍ୟାମ୍ରତିରିତ where a text book on the subject is a cribbed to କର୍ଣ୍ଣିଶ୍ଵର and the same work contains interesting accounts of gambling which illustrate act II It is a ଅକ୍ଷରଣ in 10 Acts

**Kalidasa** Dr A B Keith in his Sanskrit Drama after due consideration of all arguments about Kalidasa's date has at last come to the conclusion that Kalidasa flourished under Chandragupta II of Ujjayini who ruled up to about 413 A D with the style of Vikramaditya ( ବିକ୍ରମାଦିତ୍ୟ ) which is alluded to in the name ବିକ୍ରମାଦିତ୍ୟଶୈଖ while the title of the Kumarasamhita may well hint a compliment on the birth of young Kumaragupta his son and successor The ନାଟ୍ୟବିରାଗିତ୍ୱିତ୍ୱ with its marked insistence on the horse sacrifice of the drama seems to suggest a period in Kalidasa's early activity when the memory of the first horse sacrifice so long performed by an Indian king that of ସମ୍ବୂଦ୍ଧ was fresh in men's minds More over the poems of Kalidasa are essentially those of the Gupta period when the Brahmanical tendencies of the dynasty were in full strength and the menace of foreign attack was for the time evanescent Amongst the three dramas of Kalidasa his first play ନାଟ୍ୟବିରାଗିତ୍ୱିତ୍ୱ is a historical drama ( ଐତିହାସିକ ନାଟ୍ୟ ) The characters ପୂଜ୍ୟାଦିତ୍ୱ ଅଞ୍ଚିତ୍ୱ and ସହ୍ରତ୍ୱ being taken from the dynasty of the Guptas

formed by the first through the deposition of the last  
गोर्ज in 178 B c. The second play विक्रमोबद्धीय is a  
melo drama ( भ्राटक ) adapted from the Vedas and  
the Brahmanas The third play, अस्तित्वानश्चतुर्थ, re-  
presents the perfection of Kalidasa's dramatic art.  
The incident from the आदिपर्श्व of the Mahabharata  
has been adapted to represent a perfect work on  
dramatic art with full delineation of the poet's own  
time

Sanskrit drama was the highest product of Indian  
poetry and it summed up in itself the final concep-  
tion of literary art achieved by the very selfcon-  
scious creators of Indian literature The drama can  
not but bear essential traces of its connection with  
the Brahmins Emotion is the principal object of  
exhibition in Indian dramas The plot is a secondary  
element in the highest form of the drama ( नाटक ).  
Kalidasa makes subtle changes in the plot of the  
Sakuntala, not for the sake of improving the plot as  
such, but because the attractions are necessary to  
exhibit in perfection the sentiment of love, which  
must be evoked in the hearts of the audience The  
crudities of the epic left Sakuntala a business-like  
young woman and Dushyanta a selfish and calculat-  
ing lover, both blemishes had to be removed in  
order that the spectator might realise within him-  
self, in ideal forms, the tenderness of a girl's first  
affection and the honourable devotion of the king,  
clouded only by a curse against which he had no  
power Tragedy proper is denied in Indian dramas

and comedy in its highest form is not difficult. The **नाटिका** and the **अक्षरदण्ड** (अक्षरपत्रिका as well) represent comedy in all forms. The **शृङ्खला** and **तारी** appeal to the comic sentiment in an inferior form. Limited by nature of intellectual movement Kalidasa has no message for us for the deeper questions of human life. Fascinating and exquisite as is the **Saluntala** it has been removed far from the cruelty of real life and it neither seeks to answer nor does it solve the riddles of life. Indeed the dramatic art was essentially aristocratic in India and as such the drama was never popular in the sense in which the Greek drama possessed that quality. From an early period we find the distinction of class reflected in a distinction of language culture being reserved largely for the two higher classes, the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas or the ruling class. It was in this refined atmosphere that Sanskrit drama came into being and it was to literati of high cultivation that its creation from the hints present in religion and in the epic was due.

The Indian view on **Kalidasa**. We have absolutely no trustworthy information regarding the personal history of Kalidasa. The poet has studiously observed utter silence about himself in his works. He was the least of an egotist that it was possible to be. His poetical works alone stand as an immortal monument of his surpassing poetic excellence. We have to content ourselves with what we can gather about the poet from external

sources and a few incidents found here and there in his works which have a distant bearing upon the history of his life A time-honoured tradition associates the name of Kalidasa with that of king Vikramaditya of Ujjain The keen interest and filial love with which the poet describes the Mahakala, the Sipra and the other beauties of Ujjayini unmistakably point to the conclusion that he must have been a native of that city. Again the various covert references to the name of Vikrama in fully eulogistic terms which were undoubtedly meant to immortalise king Vikramaditya are inexplicable if that monarch be not regarded as the patron of the poet. The poet also betrays considerable acquaintance with court-life in his works This, as well as no allusion to the goddess of wealth having ever frowned upon him, shows that he was in affluent circumstances and had not the misfortune ever to drink the bitter cup of poverty By caste he was a saraswata Brahman and was a devout adorer of Siva, but not a sectarian at all He seems to have travelled a good deal all over India His graphic description of the Himalayan scenes looks very much like that of one who was an eye-witness ( Unlike Bhavabhuti ) he appears to have enjoyed great popularity during his life time. In spite of his warm admiration of pleasures he was never an unscrupulous voluptuary as is clearly evident from the many noble sentiments expressed in the Sakuntala. It also appears from the same play that he was against love-marriges though always actuated

with the most generous entiments towards the fair sex His works bear further testimony to his considerable acquaintance with the Vedas the philosophy of the Upanishads the Bhagavadgita the Sankhya, the Yoga and the Vedanta as propounded by Vyasa, medicine and the rudiments of astronomy Beyond these few facts nothing is known about the poet

**Works of Kalidasa** —The poet's silence about himself in his works gave opportunity to many unscrupulous inferior poets to father their own works upon him The following are notable amongst the works attributed to him —(1) अदूस हार (2) कूमारसंक्षय (3) इघ्नि । (4) मेघदृत (5) अभिज्ञान शुक्ला (6) विक्रमोर्जवीह (7) यात्निकाप्रिमिति (8) अट्टवोद (9) शृङ्गाराभिलक (10) शृङ्गारसाक्षे क (11) सेहवङ (12) नलाच्छस्य, (13) पूर्णवाणविलास (14) शामलादण्डक (15) शृङ्गचत्रिका and (16) ज्योतिर्बिन्दिभरण Amongst these the first seven are acknowledged by all scholars to be Kalidasa's works The rest are to be dismissed as productions of some inferior hands Amongst the poems the order of composition was अदूस हार कूमारसंक्षय मेघदृत एवं इघ्नि, while amongst the dramatic works the order of composition was यात्निकाप्रिमिति विक्रमोर्जवीह and अभिज्ञान शृङ्गाराभिलक

**Kalidasa as a poet** —Kalidasa is indisputably the greatest master mind in Sanskrit poetry He has been and will ever be enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen as the prince of Indian poets He has also evoked spontaneous outpourings of praise and manifestations of admiration from foreign poets

and scholars who had access to his works either directly or through translations. Goethe has voluntarily bestowed his highest meed of praise on him. About the Sakuntala he says—

"Would'st thou the young year's blossom and the fruits of its decline, And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed ? Would'st thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine ? I name thee, O Sakuntala, and all at once is said." As translated from the German by E B, Eastwick In the words of the renowned philosopher and traveller Humboldt—"Kalidasa, the celebrated author of the Sakuntala, is a masterly describer of the influence which nature has upon the minds of lovers, tenderness in the expression of feeling and richness of creative fancy have assigned to him his lofty place among the poets of all nations." The celebrated critic Schlegel has also assigned him a very high position amongst the glorious company of the 'sons of song'. Sir Monier Williams writing about the Sakuntala says—"No composition of Kalidasa displays more the richness of his poetical genius, the exuberance of his imagination, the warmth and play of his fancy, his profound knowledge of the human heart, his delicate appreciation of its most refined and tender emotions, his familiarity with the workings and counter workings of its conflicting feelings in short more entitles him to rank as the Shakespeare of India." Professor Lassen calls him the "brightest star in the firmament of Indian poetry."

Thus we see that his poetic genius has brought Sanskrit poetry to the highest elegance and refinement. His style is pure and chaste. It has neither the laxity of the Puranis nor the extravagant colouring of later poems. It is unartificial and characterised by brevity consistent with perspicuity. An unaffected simplicity of expression and an easy flowing language mark his writings which are embellished with similes unparalleled for their beauty and appropriateness, and pithy general sayings. His diction is marked by absence of long compounds involved constructions and over wrought rhetoric and by very few puns. Kalidasi excels other poets in his description of the sublime and the beautiful. His descriptive powers are great and some of the scenes in the Sakuntala the Meghaduta and the Raghuvansha are so charming, nay so enchanting, as to hold the readers spell bound.

**Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti compared —**  
The only dramatic poet who may be compared with Kalidasi is Bhavabhuti and as a poet on the whole both may be placed as rivals but as a dramatist the palm is certainly in favour of the former. The Uttara Rama charita is the best drama of Bhavabhuti (উত্তরা রামাচরিতে ভবভূতি বিদ্যাতে) These two poets are generally regarded as the leading dramatists in Sanskrit. Both are original poets gifted with genius of the highest order. Both are masters of the natural style of poetry and both are equally happy in their choice of words. But Bhavabhuti's style

is elaborate and generally unnecessarily marked by long compounds. Truly the poet had to yield here to the tendency of the age If Kalidasa has more fancy and imagination, Bhavabhuti is more sentimental and passionate. Kalidasa excels in depicting the sentiment of love ( शृङ्खला ) while Bhavabhuti is in his element when depicting the sentiments of pathos ( कषण ) and heroism ( वीर्य ) Dr. R G Bhandarkar remarks—"K, suggests or indicates the sentiment which B. expresses in forcible language" In the words of Sanskrit rhetoricians K's sentiment ( भ्रम ) is conveyed ( अभियक्त ) by लक्ष्मी or व्याघ्र sense of words while that of B is conveyed by the वाच् sense. K's may be described as the synthetical method of poetry as opposed to B's which is analytical Dr Bhandarkar says that Bhavabhuti modelled the love of Madhava and Malati upon that of Dushyanta and Sakuntala But B notices the ethereal side of love more than K Again in the delineation of the sublime side of pathos B. seems to excel K ( काकण्यं शब्दत्तिरेब तद्वते ) As a poet of nature and a describer of the picturesque B can not be called inferior to K. K deals with the lovely, the admirable, and the excellent, but B deals with variety and hence often he goes beyond nature Besides B is more a poet than a dramatist, more a philosopher than an actual play-wright , while K, is the master artist with the pen of the perfect dramatist B's works are rather whole नाट्यकाव्यs than नाटकs or अकरणs, while K's works are all नाटकs, त्रोटकs and pure dramatic works.

**Date of the poet** Tradition mentions Kalidasa as contemporary of king Vikramaditya as one of the nine gems of his court King Vikramaditya who was an epoch maker founded the era Śivvat (४६) which commenced with 56 B C The Karur theory the renaissance theory and the theory of the nine gems all make Kalidasa flourish in the sixth century A D But recent researches have proved beyond all shade of doubt that the above theories are all false and unfounded Mallinatha in his commentary of Meghaduta says that Nichula and Dignaga were contemporaries of Kalidasa But there is no knowing about Nichula nor is there any possibility to decide which of the different Dignagacharyas were meant by Mallintha there Mr K B Pathaka argues that since there is no mention of the Hunas in the Ramayana the conclusion follows that Kalidasa unconsciously refers to the Huna kings of his own time who held sway over the Punjab and Kashmir and specially to Mihirakula who about the year 532-533 A D retired to the Punjab after his overthrow by Yasodharman and Baladitya But this conclusion rests solely on assumption as there are references to the Hunas even in the Mahabharata Prof Apte has shown that just beyond Bactria or the threshold of ancient India the Hunas had constituted a powerful empire from the middle of the third century B C to the end of the first or second century A D Hence Raghu's conquest of the Hunas in the Raghu-vansha can not make Kalidasa flourish in the 6th

century A.D. Batsibhatti, the author of the Mindisir inscription, imitates several ideas from Kalidasa : the latter must therefore have lived prior to 172 A.D. the date of the Mindisir inscription. Again Aswaghosha, the author of Buddhacharita, a Sanskrit epic in 28 cantos, has numerous passages similar to those occurring in the works of Kalidasa. Now Kalidasa was an original poet who borrowed his subjects from Valmiki, Vyasa and the authors of the Upanishads etc, while Aswaghosha was more a philosopher than a poet and may with greater probability be supposed to have borrowed his ideas from the works of Kalidasa. The date of Aswaghosha is given as 78 A.D. and if we suppose him to have borrowed from the works of Kalidasa, the latter will have to be placed earlier than 78 A.D. In this view Dr Peterson also concurs when he says, 'Kalidasa stands near the beginning of the Christian era, if indeed he does not overtop it.'

There are also internal evidences pointing to the same conclusion. Let us first refer to the laws of inheritance and the penalty of theft as indicated in the Sakuntala. The passage in act VI of the Sakuntala announcing the death of the merchant Dhanamitra and his dying heirless, seems to Prof Apte to refer to a period when the widows of deceased persons could not inherit their estate. Such a period is to be found only before the Christian era, when Manu, Apastambha and Vasistha held sway and Brihaspati,

Sankhi Likhita and Yajnavalkya had not yet written their codes. The penalty for theft as indicated in the prologue to act VI seems to have been the extreme one it being the theft of a jewel [There is also a passage of similar import in the Vilramor vayu V I in which the feather thief that had stolen away the king's favourite gem is referred to] The penalty for theft has been from time to time mitigated with the progress of civilisation Manu and Apastambha lay down the extreme penalty the option of fine being introduced later on as we find in the Smriti of Brihaspati It must not be forgot that the principal duty of a dramatist is to show to the authority how some of the laws of the time are unnatural and stiff and cruel K refers to the law of debt of his time to act 1 of the Sirkuntala and shows how strict and cruel it is to the debtor Again Prof Apte points out that there is no reference to the Nyaya philosophy to Kalidasa's works (except in Raghu XIII I in which the word दण्ड—दात्रय occurs but which the author borrowed from the Sankhya) and concludes that K must have lived before the development of the original Nyaya philosophy Theo there comes the evidence of style The artificiality of diction and the fondness for long compounds and double meanings of words which mark the writings of Dandin Buni Bhatti, Bhavabhuti and other mediaeval writers are entirely absent in Kalidasa a fact which clearly shows that he must be placed some six or seven centuries before them,

a period necessary to cause such a revolution in the art of literary composition considering the scanty means of the propagation of learning in those times. From the few facts stated above it is abundantly clear that Kalidasa lived in the first century Bc at the latest (the upward limit of his date being 300 Bc according to some critics)

**General remarks about the Abhijnana-Sakuntala :—**It is a love drama and belongs to the 'नाटक' class of drama (नाटक). The plot is taken from the national epic Mahabharata in its main outlines. It displays all the charms of Kalidasa's muse. Its language shows forth all the graces of his style. It is highly elegant and dignified and, where necessary, it abounds in striking and tasty comparisons. It is sublime in the poetical portions without becoming obscure or involved and presents a very charming ease and simplicity in the dialogues without ever descending to vulgarity. No forced construction, no offensive conceit, mars its beauty. The metres are mostly of the shorter kind, very musical and varied, with the sonorous अश्वी prominent among them. It is also highly finished from an artistic point of view. The action is progressive and the interest well sustained. The Sakuntala aims at giving a relative picture of the life of the people in a more marked degree than the other two dramas of the poet. [ Kalidasa remains the sole unrivalled exponent of the pure classic mode of representing life and thought in the early ages.] The usual expedient

employed by writers of erotic plays (viz the introduction of a rival wife or wives to give variety to the action and add interest to the incident by the unwelcome interruptions in the love meetings of the hero and the heroine) is not made use of in the Sakuntala. Another distinguishing feature of the play is the insignificant part assigned to the Vidushaka who is so conspicuous in his other two plays. There are also no maid servants introduced in connection with the love intrigue since there is none such mentioned in the play.

**Technical remarks** —(1) Dramatic unity — There is no unity of time and place in the drama the unity present being that of plot alone (II). Five uniting links (পঞ্চসংক্ষিপ্ত) —(1) The পুরুষকি commences with the presence of king Dushyanta (the hero of the ধৌরোহাস type) in act I and ends with উচ্চৈর পরিকল্পনা (act II). It brings together the hero and the heroine and love strikes root in the heart of both. Their union in marriage is the final object and to achieve it the whole machinery is to be directed. The ground for the seed (বোক) is prepared when the বৈথানিক says 'পুত্ৰ এব ও পাপেত চক্ৰবৰ্ণিনম্ আপ্নুহি' (act I) and it is cast when he further says— দণ্ডনীম্ এব দৃহিতৰ শহুভগ্নাম্ &c &c (act I). (2) The অতিমুখ্যকি commences with গ্ৰাজ্ঞা। মাধব। অনবাধ্যক্ষু কলে ইতি &c &c (act II) and terminates with the close of act III. We have the বিলু in that the stream of the main action though obstructed by such incidents as the talk about the chase, the dinnable call of duty requiring

the king's attendance on the queen-mother and his presence at the hermitage to ward off the obstacles to the holy rites &c., proceeds unhindered, as implied by the words of the king 'ମାଧ୍ୟ, ଅନବାପ୍ରତିକୁ-ଫଳାହମି &c.' We have the ଅସ୍ତ୍ର or the endeavour to the principal end when the king says—“ତପଦ୍ୱିତି: କୈଚିଃ ପରିଜ୍ଞାତୋହମ୍ନି  
&c” (act II). (3) The ଗର୍ଭମନ୍ଦି takes up the whole of Act IV and extends as far as 'ଟତି ସଥୀଙ୍କ କରୋତି in act V. It consists of the curse of ଦୁର୍ଵାସା which mars the hope of success (ଆସ୍ତାଶା) which, however, is still present in the words of saint ବସ “ଏଭିଜ୍ଞାବତୋ &c. (act IV). (4) ଅବରମ୍ଭମନ୍ଦି spreads over the remainder of act V and the whole of act VI. Here the certain attainment of desired end (ନିଯତାପ୍ତି) is thwarted by the curse of Durvasas taking effect and the king becoming oblivious of his marriage with ଶକ୍ତୁଲା. The way to the final catastrophe, however, is paved by the invitation of Indra. (5) The ନିର୍ଵିଳମନ୍ଦି occupies the whole of act VII, wherein the various diverging incidents converge to one end, viz. the happy union of the king with his queen and son (III). Duration of time of the play : The whole action embraces a period of about six years. The first two acts occupy one day each. There seems to be about a fortnight's interval between the events of act II and those of act III, (as indicated by such expressions as ମଧ୍ୟ, ସତଃ: ଅଭୃତି &c, ସ ରାଜ୍ୟରେତାନ୍ ଦିବ୍ସାନ୍ ଅଜାଗରହଣେ ଦୃଶ୍ୟତେ), so the love-marriage (ଗନ୍ଧର୍ମ-ବିବାହ) of ଦୁଷ୍ୟଙ୍କ and ଶକ୍ତୁଲା must have taken place sometime towards the end of ତେଜେଷ୍ଟ. An interval of about five to six months separates act IV

from act III there being a distance of about fifteen days between the act itself and the fest<sup>অ</sup> The words of the disciple of কৃষ্ণ যাতেকর্ত্তব্যশেষ &c (IV 2) leave no doubt that he is describing the scene presented by a full moon day morning and that must have been a morning of আশ্রিত This period is sufficient for Sakuntala to give clear indications of her pregnancy and also for king রঞ্জ কুন্তল to return home King রঞ্জ's disciples must have reached Dushyant's palace in about two days (for Hastinapur was about a day's journey from Kuntala's hermitage as is implied by the king's words—নামাকর (দ্ব্যাত) ১১২ &c which gives three days as the time necessary to go to the city and come back) So the events of act V commence about two days after those related in act IV The অভিষেক of act VI evidently refers to the incidents of a day after a month or two from the incidents described in act V The act VI opens after a long time in the spring season From act VII it appears that সর্পসরা (তবত afterwards) was about five to six years old when the king meets him The incidents mentioned in act VI refers to only one day before what took place in in act VII (গুরুলে অসুরস প্রহরী দ্বন্দ্বে পূর্ণিমা নিবৃত্য অধিরোধতা ন লাভি— শুর্ণার্থ ) Hence the whole time of duration of the play covers about 6 years

**IV Merits of the drama** —[The poet in the first place is the interpreter of Nature's beauty The world is not painted or adorned but is from the beginning beautiful and God has not made some things beautiful, but beauty is the ruling principle of the

universe. This beauty the poet's soul feels and represents in words. The poet is consequently the person in whom the powers of impression and expression are preeminently combined. Mere poetical talents or industry and skill in metre-making do not make a true poet. It is the power vividly to impart the impressions he receives having clothed them with thoughts and ideas of his own that makes a true poet. The poet is next a man of genius. Genius is that mental power and activity which enable their possessor to create new combinations and results. It is a creative and constructive faculty. It is due to this faculty that when the soul of the poet has come to ripeness of thought he detaches and sends forth from its undying creations, its poems and songs, which infix themselves firmly into the hearts of men. Another great faculty which the poet must possess is imagination. The poet Shakespeare says

And as imagination bodies forth  
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen  
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing  
A local habitation and a name ”

The faculty of imagination creates by-laws more closely connected with reason. It has strong emotion as its actuating and formative cause and it aims at results of a definite and weighty character. Inferior

to this higher faculty but almost equally important, is the faculty of fancy. It has for its nurturing spirit feelings of a lively, gay and versatile nature. Fancy is also a creative faculty. It does not of course create like imagination, sublime thought but extraordinary thought. Imagination is serious and profound in its nature while fancy is gay and comic in its features. The poet again must be a man of universal knowledge and wide experience. He has a very high and sacred mission to perform. He is the greatest teacher of mankind. In the words of Emerson—'the poets are like hidden gods. They act up on our feelings appeal to them and ex incite them from lowness by refining them and ennobling them.)

The story of the Sakuntala is originally narrated in the Mahabharata is so unromantic and simple in its form that one could hardly imagine that it could be made the basis of the dramatic incidents woven in the drama which for its plus of execution and the charms of the denouement hardly finds a parallel in the dramatic literature of the world. The prosaic story of the Mahabharata wanting in dramatic elements which give life and effect to a play has been dramatised by Kalidasa with that dramatic skill and mastery over his art which have made him immortal as the Shakespeare of India. Shakespeare has nowhere originated the main plots of his dramas. But in his hands they received life and meaning and made him what he is—the unrivaled master of his art. Kalidasa, too selected a mytholo-

gical love-story to serve as the basis of his drama, fully conscious that such a story would have greater charm for his countrymen. His dramatic genius, aided by his deep dramatic insight, quickly saw that the story though simple and unromantic in its form was preeminently fitted to be the nucleus of such dramatic situations and incidents as would stir up the hearts of his countrymen or rather all men of poetic susceptibility and produce a magical effect upon them. Goethe's words that 'the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted and fed' are literally true as applied to this illustrious drama of our poet. The faculty of imagination enabled our poet to body forth the forms of things unknown, to turn them to shapes and give to airy nothing—(the meagre story of the Mahabharata—) its form and existence. The pursuit of Sakuntala by a bee and her consequent flurry skilfully made the fit occasion for the king to make his appearance (Act I), the seizure of the skirts of her garment by a young deer (act IV), the singing in the beginning of act V which indirectly hints at the forgetfulness of the king of his former wife and which makes him as though love-lorn though he could not account for the cause, the unexpected recovery of the ring, the picture of the heroine and the consequent mental agony of the king (act VI), the soliloquy and the swoon of the king on hearing of the death of a rich merchant who died childless (act VI) these incidents dexterously interwoven in the construction of the play are productions of the fertile

fancy of the poet. The denouement of the drama in all its chief and subordinate parts is so gracefully concerted and sustained throughout that the stage effect in all its various forms is maintained on the audience and the different sentiments possess the soul and keep it completely entranced. There is perfect naturalness about the dramatic incidents; they gently rise up in the progress of the plot and all tend to make it a perfect creation. There is hardly any other drama which is equally faultless in the execution of the plot. The play is in short the climax of the poetic and dramatic powers of the poet. Kalidasa is regarded as a master of similes and of sweet and musical language. This is sufficiently borne out by the present play. The poet's observation of nature is very vivid and true to life. The highest merit for which Kalidasa is preeminently distinguished is the sublimity of his thoughts. There is nothing commonplace or vulgar about them. Though the principal sentiment is love we find no vulgarity in the expression of it. It is all pure and sublime and can be read without a blush. [In the writings of Shakespeare the sublimity of thought runs throughout, but there are places where we find so much vulgarity that we cannot but blush to read them. We cannot, however find one instance of vulgarity in the plays of Kalidasa.] No poet, in fact, suggests less readily comparison with Euripides than does Kalidasa. He has nothing of the questioning mind of the Greek dramatist, contemporary of the sophists and eager

enquirer into the validity of all established conventions. In style again he aims at a level of perfection of achievement which was neither sought nor attained by Euripides. If any parallel were worth making Kalidasa would fall to be ranked as the Sophokles of the Indian drama, for as far as any Indian poet could 'he saw life steadily and saw it whole,' and was free from the vain questionings which vexed the soul of Euripides Kalidasa, enjoying a full measure of prosperity in the golden age of India, viewed with a determined optimism all that passed before him in life in strange contrast to the bitterness of the denunciations of existence which Buddhism has set forth as its contribution to the problems of life

V. Another point should be noticed in the poet's ऋूद्धशं canto VI which may help us in determining the date of the poet. The texts of the slokas run thus :—

ଅଥୋରଗାଥ୍ୟଶ୍ତ ପୁରସ୍ତ ନାଥୀ ଦୌରାରିକୀ ଦେବମର୍ମପମ୍ ଏତ୍ ।

ଇତ୍ତଚକୋରାଙ୍କି । ବିଲୋକ୍ୟେତି ପୂର୍ବାଶ୍ଚିଷ୍ଟଃ ନିଜଗାନ ଭୋଜ୍ୟାମ୍ ॥ ୫୯

ପାଣ୍ଡୋଧୟମ୍ ଅଂସାର୍ପିତଳମହାରଃ କୁଞ୍ଚିତରାଗୋ ହରିଚନ୍ଦନେନ ।

ଆଭାତି ବାଲାତପଦଜମାତୁଃ ସନିଧିରୋଦ୍ଗାର ଇବାଦିରାଜଃ ॥ ୬୦

From the above texts we understand that the metropolis of the Pandyas in k's days was the city of *Uragapura* (ଉରଗପୁର). Mallinatha of the 14th century without any enquiry writes 'ପାଣ୍ଡୋଧୟଶ୍ତ କାନ୍ତକୁଞ୍ଜତୀରବର୍ତ୍ତନାଗପୁରେ' in interpreting ଉରଗପୁର But antiquarian researches shew that there is no *Nagapura* in the Pandya country. But there is one *Uraiyyur* the most

ancient capital of the colas According to the opinion of the late lamented Prof V Smith the Dravadian people of the south noted in ancient Sankrit literature, were the kolas the Pandyas, the Keralas and the ceras who always fought amongst one another for political supremacy and sometime one was predominant and sometime another In the यद्यापि वा न ग्रन्ते (Book II 52 35) Here we find the colas and the Paodys treated as equals In the Rama yana we find the Pandyas alone mentioned and not the others ( युक्तं कर्माणां पाद्यानां शत्रु अन्याख वासवा R IV 41 49) The Paodys were then paramount and from the रघुण्य in the यद्यापि the Pandya king is called the paramouot lord of the south ( इति विद्वाव देवाभ्यां शिष्म म चौ उद्यमिष्यता) From history we know that this supremacy of the Pandys was overthrown by *Karikala* *cola* about the first century A D *Karikola* is said to have removed the capital to *Kanchipattanam* After *Karikola* the Paodys again became supreme in the days of *Nedum selm Pandya* He established the Pandya supremacy about the third century A D but the capital of the Pandys was *Madura*, which continued to be the capital of the Pandya country hereafter The Pandyas were overthrown in the 9th century by the Pallavas who became overlords of the south in the 6th and 7th centuries Now when K describes the Paodys as supreme lords of the south with their capital at उरायूर (Uraiyur) he must be referred to the 1st century BC

Had he lived in the 5th century, he must have described his পাঞ্জ কিং as lord of Madura. Again Kalidasa does not speak of the পল্লবস at all as he had flourished long ago. That the পাঞ্জস were the overlords of the south during K's time, we know again from Ragu IV in the description of বংশু's. দ্বিতীয়ঃ— He says—

দিশি মন্দাগতে তেজো দক্ষিণশাঃ রবেরপি ।

তথামেব বধোঃ পাঞ্জ্যাঃ অতাপঃ ন বিষেহিরে ॥

It is now quite clear without doubt that during K's time the Pandyas with উরগপুর as their capital were the supreme lords of the south. This refers to the 1st century B.C. Hence K flourished in the 1st century B.C. Again in the দ্বিতীয় of রঘু, K says that রঘু conquered the যুনস in Afghanistan. Now it is quite known that there were no যুনস in Afghanistan in the the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries A.D. as Yavana-kingdoms in the North-West of India had already been destroyed by the *Kushanas*. It was only in the 1st century B.C. that we had যুন kingdom in the North-West, both on the East and West of the Indus. As to how হুনস could be in the north of the Indus before the 5th century A.D., we must refer our readers to the মহাভারত where it is distinctly mentioned that the people to the north of India were the *Hunas* and the *Chinas*. There were numerous tribes of the হুনস and indeed they represent the Mongolian tribes to the North of India generally including the Tibetans. In short the realms of the North of India are always known to India as চোণ্ডুষ্ঠ-নিধিবিত্তদেশ. Hence to place K. in the 1st century

BC the date of the Samvat era cannot be wrong

Three dramas of Kalidasa —(1) मालविकाश्चिन्मित्र (Malavikagnimitra) was unquestionably the first dramatic work of Kalidasa He seeks in the prologue (अङ्गावना) to excuse his presumption of presenting a new play when tried favourite such as Bhasa Saumilla and the Kaviputras exist and in the Vikramorvarsiya (विक्रमोर्य नीति) also he shows some diffidence, which has disappeared in the अभिजानशकुण The great merits of the poet are far less clearly exhibited here than in his other plays It is a historical drama in five acts performed on a spring festival at Ujjayini It is a love drama of the type of the poet Bhasa on the theme of Udayana The विक्रमोर्य नीति (Vikramorvarsiya) was his second dramatical work It is a melodrama of the type of ट्रोटक (trotaka) and the theme is that of the love of king Pururnvas and the celestial nymph (अप्सरा) Urvashi The अभिजानशकुण the poet's last dramatic work, certainly represents the perfection of Kalidasa's art and may justly be assumed to belong to the latest period of his work Besides three dramas Kalidasa was the author of the छठ्न हार cycle of the seasons (undoubtedly his first work) on lyric poetry while his master lyric was the देवदृत or cloud messenger His two master pieces on epic poetry were the ब्रह्म श in 19 cantos and the द्वारमस्त्र in 17 canto<sup>s</sup>

**Chandra or Chandraka**—The Buddhist drama लोकानन्द (Lokananda) has been ascribed to him and

Kalhana places him under Tunjina of Kasmir Nothing more is known about him

**Harsha :** Three dramas, as well as some minor poetical works, have come down to us under the name of Harsha, the king of शास्त्रीश्वर and काश्मीर who reigned from 606 to 648 A.D, the patron of Banabhatta, who celebrates him in his historical prose-romance हर्षचरित, and of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuan-Tsang who is our most valuable source of information on his reign. That the three plays, श्रियदर्शिका, नागानन्द and रञ्जाबली, are by one hand is made certain, in part by the common ascription in a verse in the prologue mentioning Harsha as an accomplished poet, partly by the recurrence of two verses in the श्रियदर्शिका and the नागानन्द and of one in the former play and the रञ्जाबली and above all by the absolute-similarity of tone and style in the three works. मञ्चित्पट्टे in the काव्यअकाश refers to the gift of gold to Banabhatta (or Dhavaka in some manuscripts) by Harsha. The commentators explain this of the रञ्जाबली, which was passed off in Harsha's name But I'Tsing clearly refers to the dramatization of the subject of the नागानन्द by Harsha and its performance, and in the फृष्टनीमक्त of दामोदरशुभ्र (who lived under जयग्रीव of Kasmir, 779—813 A.D,) a performance of the रञ्जाबली ascribed to a king, is mentioned. Most probably Harsha wrote the dramas himself with such aid as his court pandits might give The श्रियदर्शिका and the रञ्जाबली, are two नाटिकाः (melo dramas) in four acts very closely connected both in form and subject-

matter the commona hero in both being ଉତ୍ସନ କୁମାର କୁମାର କୁମାର କୁମାର କୁମାର  
Bhasa had already celebrated in his ପ୍ରତିଜ୍ଞାଯୋଗକରଣ ଏବଂ  
ଦୟାମଧାତ୍ରୀ (or ଦୟନାଟିକ) The ନାଗାନଳ୍ କିମ୍ବା ନାଗାନଳ୍ କିମ୍ବା ନାଗାନଳ୍ କିମ୍ବା  
(drama proper) in 5 acts and is the dramatization  
of a Buddhist legend the self sacrifice of the Vidyn-  
dhara prince ବ୍ରଦୁତ୍ସାରନ first narrated in ଅଣ୍ଡାଙ୍କ ବୃଦ୍ଧକଥା  
and then in the ବୈଦାଲପକ୍ଷୀୟ ଶତି

**Mahendra Vikramavarman** (ମହେନ୍ଦ୍ର ବିକ୍ରମାଵରମନ).  
Almost contemporary to Harsha was Mahendra  
Vikramavarman son of the Pallava king ପାଲିକୁମାରନ୍,  
and himself a king with the styles of ଅଧିନିତାଜନ ଓ ଭାଗ  
ଭାଗ, and ମତବିଳାମ୍ଭୁତ୍ କୁମାର who ruled in Kaachi in the first  
quarter of the 7th century A D. Chancee has preserved  
for us his ପ୍ରକଳ୍ପ ମତବିଳାମ୍ଭୁତ୍, which is so far the only early  
farce published and which has a special interest in  
showing signs of the same technique as that of Bhasa.

**Bhavabhuti** (ଭବଭୁତି) — He tells us in the pro-  
logues (ପ୍ରଭାବନା) of his three dramas (ନାରାଯାଣଚତ୍ରିକ,  
ମାତ୍ରାତ୍ମାଧବ and ଉଦୁମ୍ବାରମଚତ୍ରିକ) that he belonged to the  
ଉଦୁମ୍ବା (Udumbara) Brahman family of Padmapura in  
Vidarbha who were of the Kasyapa gotra and followed  
the କ୍ରିକ୍ରିୟା �school of the Black Yajurveda (କ୍ରିକ୍ରିୟା  
ସ୍କ୍ରିବ୍ୟେନ), and that his full name was ଶ୍ରୀକିର୍ତ୍ତ ନାମଦଶ୍ରୀ soa of  
Nilakantha and Jatukarni (ଜାତୁକର୍ଣ୍ଣ), grand son of  
Bhattagopala. He was skilled in grammar, rhetoric,  
logic and mimansa. He is said to have been a pupil  
of Kumarila. He expressly mentions his knowledge  
of the Vedas, the Upanishadas, Sankhya and Yoga  
and names ଜାନନିଧି as his teacher. His three plays were  
performed for the festival of the lord Kalapriya ( କାଳାପ୍ରିୟା).

প্রিমনাথ) who is normally identified with মহাকাল of Ujjayini, though the scene of the Malati-madhava is laid in Padmavati. It appears that he left home and proceeded to Ujjayini or Padmavati in quest of fortune. Kalhana in the Rajatarangini expressly asserts, that he was a member of the entourage of Yasovarman of Kanyakubja who was defeated by Muktapida Lalitaditya of Kasmir, not earlier than 736 A D The poet वाक्पति in his epic Gaudavaha in Prakrit refers to Bhavabhuti's ocean of poetry. Bana's silence about him suggests that he was not known to him. The first writer on poetics to cite him is Vamana. Verses not found in the extant three dramas are ascribed to him, so he may have written works other than the two dramas on Ramachandra ( i e. the মহাবীরচরিত and the উত্তরামচনিত ) and the social drama ( অকরণ ) on Malati and Madhava. His friendship with actors is a trait to which he himself refers and efforts have been made to trace in his works evidence of revision for stage-purposes Amongst the three dramas of Bhavabhuti মহাবীরচরিত was his first work, গালতীমাদ্ব was his second work and the উত্তরামচনিত his last work Tradition, however, ascribes the composition of the first 4 acts and up to stanza 46 of act V of the মহাবীরচরিত to Bhavabhuti and the rest to শ্রেন্দ্রগ্যক ব. Bhavabhuti was induced to write his social drama মালতীমাদ্ব in an effort to vie with the author of the মৃচ্ছকটিক. To make up for his inefficiency in comic composition he gave up boldly the part of the Vidushaka and selected for his theme-

in lieu of comic relief incidents of the terrible and horribl<sup>a</sup> type blended with the supernatural Bhavabhuti was indeed a very learned poet of a high order but either in the राजाकाण्डम् or in the Uttara Ramcharit<sup>a</sup> he reached no higher level as a dramatist He had a period of 12 years to cover in the उत्तरारामचरितम् as he had 14 in the राजाकाण्डम् and to produce effective unity would be hard for any dramatist The poet made no serious effort to this end He has contented himself with imagining a series of striking pictures As a poem the merits of the उत्तरारामचरितम् are patent and undeniable Bhavabhuti's temper was akin to the grand and the inspiring in life and nature The play blends the martial fervour of Rama and his gallant son with the haunting pathos of fate of the deserted queen and the forests, the mountains and the rivers in the first three acts afford abundant opportunity for his great ability in depicting the rugged as well as the tender elements of nature What is awe inspiring and magnificent in its grandeur has an attraction for Bhavabhuti which is not shown in the more limited love of nature in Kalidasa He excels Kalidasa also in the last act for the reunion of Sita and Rama has a depth of sentiment not evoked by the tamer picture of the meeting of Dushyanta and Sakuntala both Rama and Sita being creatures of more vital life and deeper experience than the king and his woodland love We find in Bhavabhuti in a degree unknown to Kalidasa child of fortune, to whom life appeared as an ordered

Joyous whole, the sense of the mystery of things, 'what brings things together', he says, 'is some mysterious inward tie, it is certainly not upon outward circumstances that affection rests'. Self-sacrifice is a reality to Bhavabhuti. Friendship is to him sacred, to guard a friend's interests at the cost of one's own, to avoid in dealings with him all malice and guile and to strive for his weal as if for one's own is the essential mark of one's true friendship. Admirable indeed is his conception of love. It is the same in happiness and sorrow, adapted to every circumstance of life, in which the heart finds solace, unspoiled by age, mellowing and becoming more valuable as in the course of time all reserve dies away. The child completes the union of conjugal life, it ties in a common knot of union the strands of its parent's hearts.

**বিশাখদত্ত and ভট্টভারভূষণ :**—A curious vagueness besets our knowledge of Visakhadatta or Visakhadeva son of Mahiraja Bhaskaradatta (ভাস্করদত্ত) or the minister Prithu (পৃথু), grandson of the feudatory Vateswaradatta (বটেশ্বরদত্ত). None of these persons are known elsewhere and for his date we are reduced to conjectures. But whatever the date of the dramatist be, his *মুদ্রারাক্ষস* (Mudrarakshasa) is one of the great Sanskrit dramas. It is a drama of political intrigue, centred in the person of Rakshasa (রাক্ষস), formerly minister of the Nandas, who is now sworn to revenge their destruction on Chanakya (চানক্য), the Brahman who vowed to ruin them, and who, in

pursuance of this end secured an alliance between Chandragupta their rival and Parvateswara (पर्वतेश्वर) or Parvatika and attacked Pataliputra the metropolis of the Nandas Rakshasa seeing resistance vain surrendered the city the last of the royal house, सर्वार्थसिद्धि ( Sarvarthasiddhi), retired to an ascetic life and Rakshasa left to weave plots elsewhere His effort by a poison maiden (विषकांचार्या) to slay Chandragupta miscarried in stead Parvatika fell a victim through Chanakya's cunning This so far aided Rakshasa that Parvatika's son Malayaketu left Chandragupta and is now Rakshasa's ally preparing with the aid of a host of motley origin including the princes of Kuluta Malaya Kasmir Sind and Persia to attack the metropolis Act I shews Chanakya's schemes His determination to secure Rakshasa as minister for Chandragupta for he is convinced of Rakshasa's worth and has no desire himself to rule He learns from his spy Nipunaka that he has found a Jain Jivassiddhi who is ostensibly hostile to the king but is really Chanakya's agent that the scribe Sakatadasa is a real enemy as is Chanadasa the jeweller in whose house are Rakshasa's wife and child that he has by good luck secured the signet ring of Rakshasa (राक्षस मुख्यात्मौष्ट्रीय) dropped down in pulling indoors the child Taking advantage of the signet ring Chanakya writes a letter gets it copied in good faith by Sakatadasa and seal it with Rakshasa's seal on the signet ring Sakatadasa is then arrested and on the point of impalement

he is rescued by Siddharthaka, another spy of the minister who flees to Rakshasa. Jivasiddhi is banished in ignominy to the same destination and Chandanadasa is flung into prison to await death for having harboured Rakshasa's family which has scaped. In fine, report of the flight of Bhagurayana and others of the court and receipt of the news by Chanakya with composure, as they are really his emissaries close Act I. Act II. Rakshasa's counterplots In the guise of a serpent-charmer, Rakshasa's spy, Viradhabaka reports that the scheme to murder Chandragupta (as he passed under a coronation arch) has failed, while Vairodhaka (বৰোধক), Malayaketu's uncle (who stayed when his nephew fled and had been crowned as lord of half the realm) has been slain, that Abhayadatta who offered poison to Chandragupta has been forced to drink the draught, that Pramodaka, the chamberlain, has flaunted the wealth sent to him to use in bribes and is now dead in misery, that the bold spirits instructed to issue from a subterranean passage into Chandragupta's bed-chamber have been detected by the king through the sight of ants bearing a recent meal and burnt in agony in their hiding place, that জাবসিদ্ধি is banished, শকটদাস is condemned to the stake and that চন্দনদাস is condemned to the same fate. The tale of woe is interrupted by the advent of শকটদাস with সিদ্ধার্থক restoring his seal to বাঙ্গদ and saying that he had picked it up at Chandanadasa's house He now begs permission to remain in his train. বিবাধক tells him

now that चंद्रगुप्त is tired of चारका At this moment वानश is asked if he will buy some precious jewels and he hastily bids शक्तेश्वर से to the price quite unaware that they are sent by चारका to entrap him Act III Chanakya's height of state craft A fine scene of mock quarrel bet चारका and चंद्रगुप्त on the score of the former for bidding all feasting without consulting his majesty Chandragupta upbraids Chanakya and the minister taunts him with ingratitude and insolence, resigns his office and leaves in high dudgeon Rakshasa's fortunes seem again fair Act IV भाष्मायण and his party (now in Malya ketu's employ under वानश) tell वनशक्ति that they desire to deal direct with him and not Rakshasa, who (they tell him plainly) is no real foe of Chandragupta If चारका were out of the way there would be no thing to hinder his allying himself with Chandragupta वनशक्ति is perplexed and to his utmost astonishment he overhears a conversation bet वानश and a courier bearing the glad tidings of the split bet the king and his minister चारका when वानश exclaims with high delight that चंद्रगुप्त is now in the palms of his hands ( देवगत ) which वनशक्ति misunderstands as indicating meditation of an alliance with चंद्रगुप्त Mula yaketu sees वानश with full suspicion when वानश advises him for advice The act ends with शैवसिद्धि's admission to see वानश when the former as an astrologer advises the latter in a lore which is really a presage of disaster Act V शैवसिद्धि approaches भाष्मायण, who is entrusted with the grant of permits to leave the camp and admits (with feigned

reluctance) in order to get a permit, that he fears राक्षस who used him formerly when he was arranging for the poisoning of पर्वत क but now seeks to slay him. Overhearing this, मन्युकेतु is wild with rage मिथ्यार्थक appears now as a prisioner caught trying to escape without a passport, beaten he gives evidence against राक्षस in the shape of the letter in act I written by शकटदास, which he asserts he was to bear to Chandragupta from Rakshasa, a jewel sealed like the letter, with Rakshasa's seal—one given by मन्युकेतु to राक्षस and by him to मिथ्यार्थक for rescuing शकटदास and a verbal message stating the terms demanded by the allied kings for their treachery, and राक्षस's own demand, the removal of चाणक्य मन्युकेतु sees राक्षस with the proofs and the minister, as fate would have it, makes his case worse by assigning to the allied kings the proud duty of guarding मन्युकेतु's person, which मन्युकेतु interprets as a device to facilitate their treachery. Rakshasa is bewildered—in spite of his denial of the message, the seal and the writing are genuine, can शकटदास have turned a traitor through fear? The fine jewel in the hand of राक्षस (one of those purchased in act II) was that of मन्युकेतु's father and it can not but be the price of राक्षस's treachery. Incensed, the foolish king gives orders to bury alive those allied princes who craved territory as their reward and to trample under elephants those who sought them as their share. All is confusion and Rakshasa, insolently spared, slips away to fulfil his duty of rescuing his friend चन्द्रमदास.

Act VI Rakshasa in the metropolis is soliloquizing on the failure of all his ends and the fate of his friend Here he learns from one who pretends him self a friend of चन्द्रनाथ (but who is really a spy of चाणका) that all his attempt to save his friend runs no chance of success save and except his self sacrifice The net is now firmly cast Act VII चन्द्रनाथ is led to the place of execution with his wife and child beside him the wife determined to die with her husband द्राघी intervenes चाणका and चक्रघात enter Rakshasa at last decides to accept the office of minister pressed on him by both चाणका and चक्रघात when thus alone he can save the lives of चन्द्रनाथ and his friends Malayaketu's massacre of the princes has broken the host into fragments and the apparent rebels have taken the moment to capture him and his court As minister Rakshasa is permitted to free यशोकेश्वर and restore his lands, चन्द्रनाथ is rewarded and a general amnesty is approved The scene of Chandanadasa led out to death with his wife and child beside him has been imitated from the युद्धकटिक

**Characterization** The interest in the action never flags, the characters of चाणका and द्राघी are excellent foils Each in his own way is admirable चाणका in his undying and just hatred of the Nandas and द्राघी in his unsparing devotion to their cause his noble desire to save चन्द्रनाथ and his fine submission for the sake of others to a yoke he had purposed never to hear The maxims of politics in which

both delight amuse the audience. The plots and counterplots of both ministers are the type of old Indian policy of state-craft. The minor figures are all interesting সিদ্ধার্থক and সংসিদ্ধার্থক, are gentlemen who even disguise themselves as চৌঙ্গs in act VII, to serve চাপক's aims, নিপুণক, whose cleverness in finding the seal justifies the name he bears, is a living character, the disguised বিরাধক, the honest শকটদাস and the noble চন্দনদাস and his wife (the single female character in the drama) are all painted life-like. The kings চৰুণপ্র and মলঘরকেতু represent the contrast of ripe intelligence with youthful ardour and the weak petulance of one who does not know men's worth and who rashly and cruelly slays his allies on the faith of treachery. ভাষ্ণবায়ুণ, the false friend deluding মলঘরকেতু in চৰুণপ্র's interest, is a carefully drawn figure. He dislikes the work but dismisses repulsion as essentially the result of dependence which forbids a man to judge between right and wrong. বিশ্বাখদত্ত's diction is admirably direct and forcible. The martial character of his dramas reflects itself in the clearness, and rapidity of his style. As an artist in essentials he uses images and figures of speech with tasteful moderation. He realizes full well that he is writing a drama for play and not composing sets of elegant extracts. রাঙ্গম's name inevitably demands the usual play on its sense of demoniac, but মলঘরকেতু's feeling redeems the use from triviality ( cf. V. 7 ). The martial spirit of রাঙ্গম is admirably brought out in Act II. 14. The

burden of duty is expressed admirably in II 19. The minister's resolve to save his friend is forcibly put in VI 21. There is grim humour in the command of the infuriated Malayaketu 'Those who desired my land take and cast into a pit and cover with dust those two who sought my army of elephants slay by an elephant and in the Chandala's remark when he bids his friend impale Chandana dasa His family will go off quickly enough of their own accord. The revelation of ज्योतिषि's treachery wrings from Rakshasa the cry "My very heart has been made their own by my foes' The Sanskrit of the drama is classical and the Prakrits number three for in addition to the normal शौक्लमनी and माहाराष्ट्री नागदी has been used by the Jain monk, by सिद्धार्थक and सिद्धार्थक as Chandalas, by a servant and an envoy.

**ଭଟ୍ଟନାରାୟଣ (Bhattacharayana)**—From a tradition preserved in the Tagore family we know that he was one of the Brahmins summoned from Kanyakubja to Bengal by Adisura the founder of a dynasty of II kings who ruled before the Pal dynasty. Adisura Adityasena son of Madhavagupta of Magadha, was made independent of Kanyakubja by his father and ruled in Bengal towards the last quarter of the 7th century. Bhattacharayana chose one episode from the Mahabharata and composed his drama Venisan hara (ବେଣୀଶ ହାର) One of the worst of the insults heaped on Draupadi in the gambling scene of the epic is the dragging of her by the hair before the assembly by

Duhsasana ( ଦୁଃଶାସନ ), whereupon she vowed never to braid her hair again until the insult would be avenged and the drama concluded with full revenge by Bhimasena. The play on the whole is undramatic, the action being choked by narrative. But the characterisation is good. Horror and Pathos are not lacking. The style is clear and not lacking either in force or dignity. But many of the defects of Bhavabhuti are found in the ବୈର୍ଣ୍ଣମୁଖୀ.

Vakpati of the court of king Yasovarman of Kanyakubja was the author of a drama called ରାମାଭୂଦୟ (Ramabhyudaya) Anangabarsha Matraraja, mentioned by Anandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, was author of the drama Tapasa-vatsarajacharita ( ତାପସବଂସରାଜ୍ଚରିତ ) which is a variation on the theme of the ruse of ଶୌରକ୍ଷଣୀ to secure the marriage of ସୁମରାଜୁ and ପଲ୍ଲ୍ଵାବତୀ, in face of the deep love of the king for ସାମବନ୍ଦ୍ରୀ. Mayuraja was author of the drama ଉଦ୍‌ଦୀପାଧ୍ୱନ, in 5 acts, once ascribed to ସାତ୍ତ୍ଵାତ୍ମା, is now allotted to ସାମନଭଟ୍ଟବାଣ (1400 A. D.) ମଞ୍ଜିବାନାଳ୍ବାନ, a prakarana (social drama) in 10 acts, wrongly thought to be a work of Dandin, is the work of one Uddandin ( ଉଦ୍ଦଦିନ ) of the 17th century ଛଲିତରାମ, referred to by Dhanika in his comment on the Dasarupa, with the name of the author unknown, is a Rama drama Murari ( ମୁରାରି ) — was son of ଶ୍ରୀବର୍ଦ୍ଧନାନକ of the ଶୌରକ୍ଷଣାଗୋତ୍ର and son of Tantumati ( ତନ୍ତ୍ମତୀ ) He claims to be a ସହାକର୍ତ୍ତି and arrogates the style of ସାଲବାଜୀକି. The Kashmirian poet ରଙ୍ଗାକ୍ଷେତ୍ର in his epic ହରବିଜ୍ଞୟ makes a clear reference to ମୁରାରି as a

dramatist The poet mentioos ମାହୁତୋ (Maudhota) oo the Narmada os the place of his activity uoder the Kalachuri maoarch ଆର୍ଗ୍ରାହ୍ୟ (Aoargho Raghya) is the ooly dramatic work we get of the author Rajasekhara (ରାଜେଖରା)—He was of a Maharishtri Kshatriyo family of the Yaj୍ଞୀରାତ୍ରା who claimed descent from Ramachadri He was son of the minister Durdula or Duhika and of Silavati and grand son of Akala jihida He married କଷ୍ଟିକାର୍ଣ୍ଣାମୀ of the Cahamiori family and was a moderate Saiva His first work ପୂର୍ବମନ୍ଦିର, a ଶତକିଆ 4 acts in Prakrit was produced at the request of his wife His secood work ରାଜ୍ୟ ଲାକ୍ଷ୍ମୀ a ସହାନୁଟକ 10 1/2 acts was produced at the request of Maheodripala king of Mahodaya or Kaoyakubja His ବିହାରିତତିଥୀ, a regular ନାଟ୍କୀ in 4th acts was produced for the Kalachuri king yuvacarya Keyuravirshi of Tripuri His ରାଜାରତ is misfully unfinished It covers the marriage of Draupadi and the gombling scenee with the ill usage of Draupadi ରାଜରତ୍ନ is devoid of the power to create a character In all his works the author is merely conceroed with exercises in style ଭୀମଟ୍ (Bhimata)—Rojasekhora ascribes 5 dramas to Bhimato of which the ସ୍ଵାପୋଦା (Swapoa Dasasoriori) woo him chief fame He is described as a Kahn jarapati କ୍ଷେମିଶ୍ୱର (Kshemiswara) wrote his ଚାୟକୋଣିକ (Chaodakausika) a drama in 7 acts for king Mahipala of Kaoyakuhja He has left two dramas (1) The ନାଈଧାନ୍ଦା (Naisadhaoanda) in 7 acts deals with the legend of Nala of the Mahabharato and

(2) the Chandakausika reveals the story of Harischandra, who seeing as he thought the sacrifice of a damsel on the fire rebukes the Kausika Viswamitra and in return for his gallant action is cursed by the sage, who was merely bringing the sciences under his control. He secures pardon by surrender of the earth and a thousand gold pieces. To secure the latter he sells his wife (Saivya) and child to a Brahman and himself to a Chandala as a cemetery-keeper. One day his wife brings the dead body of their son, but it turns out merely to be a trial of his character , his son is alive and is crowned king.

**Decadence of Sanskrit drama** Real merit in dramatic works began to decline with Murari and Rajasekhara. Mahomedan conquest took away the life of drama altogether. The character of decline is obvious in the ପ୍ରସନ୍ନାଧବ (Prasanna Raghava) a ନାଟକ in 7 acts, in which the logician ଜୟଦେବ (1200 A. D.), son of ଶହାଦେବ and ଶୁମିତ୍ରା of Kundina in Berar endeavours to tell again the story of the Ramayana. The play is typical of the later drama The ଜାନକୀ ପରିଣୟ of ରାମଭଦ୍ରନୀଳିତ and the ଅନ୍ତୁତଦର୍ପଣ of ଶହାଦେବ are the worst types of the age of dramatic decline Of historical drama we have little and of small value (1) The ଲଲିତବିଗ୍ରହରାଜନାଟକ is a drama of the latter part of 12th century by ମୋହଦେବ in honour of ବୈମଲଦେବ ବିଗ୍ରହରାଜ, the Cahamana (2) The ପ୍ରତାପକ୍ଷକଳ୍ୟାଣ of ବିଦ୍ୟାନାଥ inserted in his work on rhetoric as an illustration of drama, celebrates his patron, a king of warangal about 1300 A.D. (3) The Hammiramada-mardana,

(1219-1229 A D) by सहस्रिंह शृङ्खि the priest of the temple of मूनिरुद्रेत at Broach, is an interesting drama

Allegorical drama (गाम्यकथा) It cannot be said for certainty that the एरोद चालुन्द (Prnhodha Chadrodaya) of Krishna misra was a revival of the allegorical drama which had been practised regularly on a small scale since अर्धयात् The एरोद चालुन्द is an allegorical drama in six acts composed in the 11th century by the poet It is devoted to the defence of the औदृत form of the Vishnu doctrine 1, e a combination of Vedanta and Vishnuism शक्तिश्वर's example has caused the production of numerous dramas of the same type, but of much less value (1) सद्गुरुण्डम् of Venkatanatha of the 14th century, is excessively dreary, but it is better than the famous (2) देवतारज्ञानम् of Kavi कर्मपूर्ण which is an account of his success but which fails to convey any suggestion of his spiritual power (3 & 4) Two द्युव dramas are the दिग्गंबरायन and शीवानन्दन (owards the close of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries They have no merits (5) एहाराज प्रदानम् of शश लाल, son of minister धनदेव and कर्मपूर्ण of the Modha Bania caste is again an allegorical drama in 5 acts dealing with the conquest of king Confusion describing the conversion of the Chalukya king of Guzrat Kumarapala to Jainism his prohibition of slaugter of animals &c

**Natika and Sattaka** (1) फृश्मद्रो of Bilhana (10  
80-90 A D), written out of compliment to Karna-  
deva Trailokyamalla of Anhilvad on the occasion of  
celebrating his wedding in the advanced age with

Miyanilladevi, daughter of the Karnata king, अयकेश्विनी, wrote the *Paramara अद्युनवर्षम्* of Dhara, preceptor of the Paramara अद्युनवर्षम्, wrote the विजयन्त्री or पारिज्ञातमङ्गली, a नाटका in 4 acts which is also a historical drama. (3) बृहत्भास्त्र of गृह्णादाम, a kaystha, is a नाटका on the love of Krishna and Radha (4) शिवनारायणभगवन्होदय is a historical, philosophic play of Narasinha in honour of a prince of Keonjhor. (5) आनन्दस्तलर्णी of घनश्याम, minister of the Maratha Tukkoji, and the (6) खृष्णारमङ्गली of the Almora poet विश्वेश्वर of the 18th century are two Sattakas.

**Prakarana** · The example of the मूल्कटिक induced few imitations. (1) The घनिकामाहृत of Uddanddin or Uddandanatha, a court poet of the Zemindar of Calicut (कूलूटकोड़) in the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, is a very bad and unsuccessful imitation of गान्तीगान्ध of Bhavabhuti (2) क्षेमदीगित्रानन्द in 10 acts written about 1173—1176 A.D. by Ramachandra, a jain and pupil of Hemachandra, is a अकरण as undramatic as the घनिकामाहृत. (3) अवृक्षरोहिण्येय is another jain अकरण in 6 acts by ब्राह्मदेवमुनि, pupil of ज्यप्रभुवि (about 12th century A.D.)

**Prahasana & Bhana** · (1) Latakamelaka (लटकमेलक) of the earlier part of the 12th century under गोविन्दचंद्र of Kanyakubja composed by शञ्चाधर कविगांड़ is a अहमन or farce in one act (2) धूर्त्तमगांगम of द्योतिरीश्वर कविशेखर under king नरसिंह of विजयनगर (1487—1507 A.D.) is another farce. (3) हास्तार्णव of जगदीश्वर is another अहमन (4) कोतुकसर्वध of गोपीनाथ चंद्रवर्ती, written for festival of the दुर्गापूजा in Bengal

is another ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍, (5) The ମୁହୂର୍ତ୍ତକ of ଶାମଦାବନୌକିତ  
of the 17th century is another ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ (1) ଶୁରାଦର୍ଶନ  
of ବାମନତେଜୀ (about 1500 AD) is a drama of the  
ଭାଣ type (2) ଶୁରାବନ୍ଧିକ or ଅଚାର୍ଯ୍ୟ of ଶାରତପ୍ରମାଣିତ  
written to rival the ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧିକ or ଅଚାର୍ଯ୍ୟ of ସରବାଚାର୍ଯ୍ୟ  
or ଆମାଲ୍ ଆଚାର୍ଯ୍ୟ, the ବ୍ରିଜନୀରୀ is a drama of the ଭାଣ  
type (3) ଶାମାତିଳକ of ଶିଳ୍ପାର୍ଥୀ is another ଭାଣ (4) We find a type of mixed ଭାଣ in the ମୁହୂର୍ତ୍ତକ of ଶାଶ୍ଵପତି  
କରିବାକୁ not earlier than 13th century

**Minor dramatic types** (1) The ପାର୍ବତପାତ୍ରକ of  
ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ଦମେଶ is a ବ୍ୟାଖ୍ୟାତାଛୁ ନୋଟ  
of ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧିକ minister of Paramardideva of Kalingajira, is  
a ବ୍ୟାଖ୍ୟାତାଛୁ based on ଭାରବି's epic (3) The କର୍ମଚାରୀରୀ is a ଭାଣ of  
the orthodox type (4) The ଦାନ୍ତକୁଣ୍ଡାନ୍ତିରୀ is a farce in one  
act (5) କୃଗଢ଼ିକାହରୀ of about 1316 AD is a ବ୍ୟାଖ୍ୟାତାଛୁ by  
ବିଦ୍ୟନାଥ dealing with ଭୌମଦେବ's visit to Kuvera's lake to  
fetch water lilies for ଦ୍ରୁପଦୀ, his struggles with ହନ୍ୟାନ୍ and  
the yakshas and his final victory. The Pandavas meet  
at Kuvera's home and Draupadi obtains her desired  
flowers (6) The ଧନଧ୍ୟବିଷ୍ଣୁ of କାଞ୍ଚନପତିତ, son of ନାରାୟଣ is  
a ଭାଣ dealing with the prowess of Arjuna in the defeat  
of Duryodhana and the Kauravas who they raid the  
cattle of Virata. The description of the contest in  
which Arjuna uses magic weapons given by Indra  
and a couple of his celestial entourage. The play  
ends with the giving to Abhimanyu, Arjuna's son  
Uttara daughter of king ବିରାଟ, in marriage. Of the  
type of ଦୈଶ୍ୟବନ୍ଦୀ we have କ୍ଷୟୁରୀରୀ of ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧି in 4 acts  
dealing with the success of କୁଞ୍ଚିତ in depriving ଶିଶୁପାଳ of  
his wife କୁଞ୍ଚିତୀ his promised bride. Other dramas of this

type are the (1) the বৌর বিজয় of কৃষ্ণনির্মল and (2) সর্ববিনোদ নাটক of কৃষ্ণ অবধূত ষট্কাশ তন্ত্রিকাৰি. To বৎসৱাঞ্জ is attributed a specimen of the ভিন্ন, the ত্রিপুরানাহ in 4 acts describing the destruction of the capital of ত্রিপুরা by শিব. বৎসৱাঞ্জ is also responsible for a মনবকারি, the মন্দুমহন in 3 acts. The অন্ত or one act play is often applied to denote a play within another play (otherwise called গৰ্ভাঙ্ক), for example in the বান্ধবান্ধবণ of রাজশেখৰ, the name প্রেক্ষণক is applied to such plays. The same name is also given to the উপন্থিত্বাধীন of ভাস্তুৱকাৰি. The term প্রেক্ষণক is also applied to the ছফ্ফাভ্যুদয় of লোকনাথ Bhatta, written for the raintime procession of the Lord of Hastigiri, Vishnu, in Kanchi. Of the উপন্থিপক্ষ, we have দানকেশলিঙ্গেমুদী, a ভাণিকা, by Rupagoswamin. We have also the শুভজ্ঞানৰণ of মাধব son of নগলেখৰ ভট্ট and ইন্দুনতী which is a শ্রীগদিৎ.

**Shadow play (ছায়াক্রমপক্ষ ):** (1) ধৰ্মাভ্যুদয় of মেঘ-অভাবার্য় is the first shadow play we have. In the stage direction it mentions clearly a puppet (পুত্রক) and calls itself a ছায়ানাট্যপ্রেক্ষণ (2) The দৃতাদি of শুভট is the second চায়ানাটক. (3) হণ্ডিত, deals with the legend given in the দৃতবাক্য of ভাস of the mission of কৃষ্ণ to the Kauravas to seek to attain peace.

**Dramas of irregular type :** (1) সহানাটক—Professor Ludus includes it in the list of ছায়ানাটক. It is a drama of the irregular type. According to the commentator গোহনদাস and the ভোজপ্রেক্ষ of Ballala, the play was put together by order of king Bhoja from fragments found on rocks which were fished out of the sea. The tradition was that হৃন্দান্ত himself wrote the

work (wherefore it is also called शूद्राट्ट) but to please saint Valmiki the generous devotee permitted the saint to cast into the sea the drama which he had inscribed on the rocks. We have two recensions of the work in 9 or 10 acts by शूद्रम् and in 14 acts by पा दासस्मि. Its type may well be compared with that of the Gita Govinda of शशीकृष्ण of the time of King लक्ष्मण of Bengal (12th century A.D.), which exhibits songs sung by Krishna, Radha and her companion intermingled with lyric stanzas of the devoted poet, describing their position or the emotions excited and addressing prayers to Krishna. The Gitagovinda is a lyric poem capable of a qua : dramatic presentation. It reveals a highly developed outcome of the Bengal yatrās of Krishna religion. In the गोपालकल्पिका of Ramankrishna of Gujarat, later than the शूद्राट्ट and the शशीकृष्ण we have an irregular drama whose form has excited a large number of conjectures including the inevitable but absurd solution of a shadow play.

**Summary of types of drama** (1) The highest of the ten main forms of drama (शूद्राट्ट) is the गाउड़ or heroic drama, the subject matter being drawn from tradition, not invented the hero being a king a royal sage or a god appearing in human form and the dominant sentiment (प्रधा) to be the heroic (वीर) or the erotic (भूषण), with all other sentiments as secondary the sentiment of wonder (अनुज्ञन) being well suited for the denouement which should be led up through the whole series of stages of the action.

and junctures. The end must be happy, tragedy being forbidden. The prose must be simple without elaborate compounds and verses sweet and clear and the number of acts from 5 to 10. If a play contains every kind of episode it is called, সহানাটক, if it has 10 acts (2) The bourgeois comedy, অৰোগ, is a social comedy of manners of a rank below royalty and in the main it follows the laws of construction of the নাটক. The subject-matter is to be framed at his pleasure by the playwright. This drama offers an appropriate place for slaves, wives, merchant chiefs and rogues of various kinds. The erotic sentiment ( শৃদ্ধাৱ ) dominates here. The number of acts should be as in a নাটক and the name should be derived from the hero or heroine or both or the principal subject-matter. (3) সমৰকান্তি is a supernatural drama, the plot being taken from a tale of the gods and demons, the junctures ( সংক্ষি ) being omitted and the expansion ( বিবৃতি ) being the principal element of the plot. The number of heroes may reach 12, the heroic sentiment dominating each act exhibiting one type of cheating, tumultuous action and love অমৃতমন্ত্র and ভাস's পঞ্চরাত্র are best dramas of this type (4) দেবামুগ had its origin to the fact that in it a maiden as hard to attain as a gazelle is sought after ( সৈহি ). The subject matter is one partly from legend and partly from the poetic imagination, but it must avoid death of a great man. The hero ( নায়ক ) and his rival ( প্রতিনায়ক ) must both be of noble and haughty type, the latter doing wrong in error. মুখ, অতিমুখ, অবসর্ব and নিৰ্বহণ সংক্ষি ( junctures )

are allowed It may have one act or four acts ( 5 )  
ভিয়—the subject is to be legendary with no nocturnal  
heroes to be gods, demi gods and demons all of the  
haughty type ( রোক্ষযনপ্রধান ), magic sorcery combats,  
eclipses of the sun and the moon are in place Erotic  
and comic sentiments are to be excluded that of fury  
( বৌদ্ধরস ) to be predominant Acts to be 4 without  
প্রবেশক and বিভক্তক The graceful manner is forbidden  
তিপুরুদাই and মন্ত্রখোলাখন are best specimens of this type  
( 6 ) ব্যায়োগ—is a military spectacle the subject  
matter being legendary and the hero being a god  
or royal sage It is in one act the action not extending  
over a day, filled with strife and battle and  
মৃথ অভিযুক্ত and নির্বাণ সফ্টি being allowed and the খৃষ্টাৰ  
and হাত্ত রস্ব বস্তি being barred ( 7 ) অক or উচ্ছিক্ষিক is a  
single act play whose longer style serves to discriminate  
it from an act of a normal drama The subject matter is taken from legend with development  
of the poet মুখসত্তি and নির্বাণসত্তি being permitted  
alone The hero to be human of the common folk  
and the sentiment to be pathetic ( কুণ্ড শিষ্টা যাত্তি )  
is a masterpiece of this type ( 8 ) পহন or farce has  
every sign of popular origin and vogue The plot is  
the poet's invention and it deals with the tricks and  
quarrels of low characters of every kind There is  
but one act and only মুখসত্তি and নির্বাণসত্তি there  
the predominating sentiment being কুণ্ড (comic) There  
are three types of পহন ( A ) the pure ( কুণ্ড  
পহন ) is that in which heretics Brahmins meo and  
maidservants and parasites are represented in appro-

priate costume and language , ( B ) The বিদ্রোহিত (বিদ্রোহিতপ্রহসন) represents eunuchs, chamberlains, and ascetics in the garb and with speech of lovers . (e) The mixed (মিশ্রপ্রহসন) contains the elements of the বাঞ্ছী and is filled with rogues. The graceful and violent manners are excluded in all farces. (9) ভাণ or monologue has its subject-matter invented by the poet. There are only মুখসংক্ষিপ্ত and নির্বাচিতসংক্ষিপ্ত in it. It is complete in one act. The elements of the বাস্তব are specially in place. The শারদাত্তিলক and লৌণামধুকর are specimens of this type. (10) বাঞ্ছী or garland has a certain similarity to the Bhana as it includes frequent speeches in the air (আকাশভাষিত) and is in one act. But it is played by one or two actors or by three, one of each station in rank. The leading sentiment is the erotic (শৃঙ্গাৱ), but others are hinted at. Only মুখসংক্ষিপ্ত and নির্বাচিতসংক্ষিপ্ত are allowed, but all the elements of the plot are present. The মালবিকা (certainly not মালাবকা শাস্ত্ৰ of Kalidasa) is a specimen of this type. The first act of মালতীমাধব of Bhavabhuti is called বকুলবাঞ্ছী, but it is in no sense even taken by itself an example of this type.

**Types of উপরূপক:** উপরূপক fall into 18 types :  
 (1) নাটক— with the hero a gay king and the intrigue consisting of his efforts to attain marriage with the heroine, an ingenue of a royal family, who by some accident or design has been introduced into the royal harem in an inferior capacity. The lovers have to strive against the jealousy of the queen, a lady of mature character and devotion to the king, who at

last is induced to sanction the nuptials with introduction of music song and dance as elements in the entertainment of court life Graceful manner with erotic sentiment is pre eminent and within 4 acts The नाटिका has शास्त्रज्ञता in abundance (2) अकर्मिक or the little bourgeois comedy is precisely of the same character as the नाटिका, save that its hero and heroine are generally of the merchant class (3) सहृदय is a variant of the नाटिका differing from it merely by being all in Prakrit and by having no introductory scenes of any kind and each of the acts being called द्वयविधाय There is a dance of the शृङ्खला type in abundance in it (4) The आटेक is merely a variant of the नाटिक with love between a human hero and a superhuman heroine (5) The गोपी has 9 or 10 men and 5 or 6 women as actors (6) The शैशव is clearly a glorified dance (7) The नाट्यधनुष is a hallet and pantomime (8) The दाहानक, in which hero and heroine are slaves is based on a mimetic dance (9 and 10) So also are the भाष्यका or little भाष्य and the भाष्य both being one act pieces (11) The राजसंक of the same general type, includes dialect in its language (12) The देहाप्यक may have one to three acts and its hero is of a high rank while battles form part of its subject, as they do also in the (13) सलापक which may have one to four acts (14) The दुर्घटिका has four acts a hero of low rank and a precise time table of duration of acts (15) The विलासिका has one act but is interesting in that the hero has to support him not only the शृङ्खला but also the parasite and a

friend ( ପାଠେର୍ଦ୍ଦି ), the sentiment erotic. (16) The ଶିଳ୍ପକ is mysterious, for it has four acts, allows all the manners, has a Brahman as hero with a man of lower rank as secondary hero ( ଉପନାୟକ ), excludes the calm ( ଶାନ୍ତି ) and comic ( ହାତୀ ) sentiments and has 27 most miscellaneous constituents , if a pantomime, it was not amusing. (17) The ପ୍ରେଷ୍ଟ୍ରଣ or ପ୍ରେଷ୍ଟ୍ରିଙ୍କ is a piece in one act with a hero of low birth, full of combats and hard words , it has no introductory scenes and both the ନାମ୍ବି (benediction) and the ଅରୋଚନା are performed behind , the scenes (18) ଶ୍ରୀଗନ୍ଧିତ is in a single act, the story legendary, the hero and heroine of of high rank, the manner verbal , the word ଶ୍ରୀ is often mentioned or the goddess is presented seated and singing some verses The only play of that name is the ଶୁଭପ୍ରାହଦର୍ମ of ନାଥବ before 1600 A D.

The ନାଟକ remains the form of drama par excellence, a pre eminence due to its comparative freedom from narrow restrictions as well as to the submissive spirit of the dramatists. The ପ୍ରକରଣ is essentially similar to the ନାଟକ save in the social status of the hero and heroine The distinction between a ପ୍ରକରଣ and a ନାଟକ is far less important than the similarity. The farce and the monologue are confined to representations of the lower and courser side of life It is amazing that we find no serious effort to produce pure comedy in Sanskrit drama. The farce and the monologue may hover on the borders of that form ; but they never attain it The conception of human activity striving with circumstances, endeavouring

to assert itself in the teeth of forces superhuman in power and unconquerable and meeting with utter ruin but yet maintaining its honour, which affords the spring of tragedy in Greece is alien to Indian thought. Fate is nothing outside man; he is subject to no alien influences he is what he has made himself by acts in past lives, if he suffers evil he has deserved it as just retribution and to sympathise with him to feel the pathos of his plight is really unthinkable. Death, therefore by violence is merely a just punishment of crime and it is a more refined taste than that of Bhasa which bids us banish from the stage the spectacle of what is no more than an execution a scene as ill suited to the decorum and good taste of the serious drama as to the rude merriment of the farce or the monologue.

**Greek and Indian theory of drama —**  
 The unity of action is fully recognised in the आर्यान्तिका and the rule which insists that the events described in an act shall not exceed in duration a day has a certain similarity to the unity of time in Aristotle and is much more significant than such agreement as there is as to unity of place. The doctrine that the drama is an imitation (अनृति) does not differ from the doctrine of Mimesis but there is an essential distinction in what is imitated or represented in the आर्यान्तिका it is a state or condition in Aristotle it is action. The importance of acting is common in both schemes but Aristotle makes little of the dance. Both stress the plot which the



introduction of a play within a play, the restoration of the dead to life and the use of intoxication on the stage as a humorous device. The Indian dramatists portray individual character and not types of character. They are given to introducing romantic and fabulous elements, very often the supernatural.

**Character of Sanskrit drama** —(1) Absence of tragedy i.e. absence of tragic conclusion (2) interchange of lyrical stanzas with prose dialogue, (3) use of Sanskrit for some characters and of Prakrit for others (4) considerable skill in weaving of the incidents of the plot and in the portraiture of individual character, (5) want of fertility of invention—the plot being borrowed from tradition or epic legends and (6) want of unity of time and place.

**Arrangement of Sanskrit plays** :—(1) प्रारम्भना including नाट्यो लक्ष्मणा कृष्णस्त्रियः शशांकपादम् and the conclusion of the prologue (2) सूत्रादि (3) मध्यस्थापिति (4) अंगदि (5) अदर्शस्त्रियः, and (6) उभगाद्वये Intermediate scenes by विष्णुक शशांक, दृश्यमा अवाक्यात् &c. Acts in a play vary from 1 to 10, but they are determined by the character of the drama. Thus the गाटिक has 4 acts लक्ष्मा (faree) only one while the नाट्य has from 5 to 10 acts.

**Kalidasa** Like Shakespeare Kalidasa does not hesitate to repeat himself. We have in acts I and III of the शशांक pretty idea of the king in concealment hearing the confidential talk of the heroine and her friends. The same motif is found in act III of the नाट्यविकापित्तिक

Like उर्ख्षी, शकुन्तला, when she leaves the king makes a pretext to delay her going , in the same way both express their love by letters Snatching by a bird of the magic stone in the विक्रमोवशीय is paralleled by मातिनि's seizure of विद्युषक in act VI , आयुम् has a peacock to play with as the little ओष्ठ a lion cub, but in each case the comparison is all to the good of the heroine.

शकुन्तला in the Mahabharata : King Dushyanta arrives at the hermitage of sage Kanwa in his absence. Sakuntala receives him and on his enquiry recounts to him her ancestry without bashfulness. He proposes marriage , she argues and on being satisfied of the legality of a secret matrimonial union, agrees on the understanding that her son shall be made heir apparent. The king goes home alone. In course of time Sakuntala is delivered of a son who grows up in the hermitage, until at the due season the mother, under the escort of hermits, takes him to court. The hermits leave her, but she is undaunted when the king out of policy refuses to recognise her and accept the child as his son She threatens him with death and taunts him with her higher birth Finally a divine voice bids the king consecrate the child, when he explains that his action was due solely in order to have it made plain that the child was the rightful prince.

Kalidasa's improvement on the original plot : Sakuntala of the drama is a shy girl who would not dream of telling her birth , her maidens even are-

too modest to do more than hint and leave the experienced king to guess the rest Sakuntala's dawning love is depicted with perfect skill her marriage and its sequel are alluded to with delicate touches The king's absurd conduct is explained—a curse produces it and for that curse Sakuntala was not without responsibility for she allowed her love to make her forgetful of the essential duty of hospitality and reverence to the guest who was a saint Before the king she utters no threat but behaves with perfect dignity stunned as she is by his repudiation of their love The king is a worthy hero whose devotion to his public duties and heroism are insisted on and who deserves by reason of his unselfishness to be reunited with his wife His love for his son is charmingly depicted and accepting the validity of the curse his conduct is irreproachable It is not that he despises the lovely maiden that he repulses her but as a pattern of virtue and morality he cannot accept as his wife one of whom he knows nothing specially when she is in the family way Sakuntala's own love for him is purified by her suffering and when she is finally united to him she is no longer a mere loving girl but one who has suffered tribulation of spirit and gained in depth and beauty of nature Saint वृश्णि is a delightful figure the celibate ascetic without child who lavishes on his adopted daughter all the wealth of his deep affection and who sends her to her husband with words of tender advice He is brilliantly contrasted with the fierce pride and anger of द्युमेन्द्र who curses शकुनता for her fault (blind of the truth—to err is human and to forgive is divine) and the solemn majesty of शारीर who though married has abandoned all earthly thoughts and enjoys the happiness of release while yet contemplating the affairs of the world and intervening to set them in order with purely disinterested zeal The supernatural (in excess in the विष्णुमोर्गीय) is reduced

to modest dimensions and intervenes hardly at all in the play, until we come to the last act, where the theory permits and even demands that the marvellous should be introduced and the celestial hermitage is a fit place for the reunion of two lovers severed by so hard a fate. The episode of the ring whose loss prevents the immediate recognition of the heroine is effectively conceived and woven into the plot. Kalidasa excels in depicting the emotions of love, from the first suggestion in an innocent mind to perfection of passion. He is hardly less expert in pathos. Act IV. of the Sakuntala is a model of tender sorrow and loving kindness with which even the trees take farewell of their beloved one contrasts with the immediate hard reception which awaits her at the royal court.

Megasthenes about India : About 322 B. C. Chandragupta came to the throne. In BC 302 Megasthenes came as the ambassador of Selucus Nikator to Chandragupta's court and stayed there for many years. Of his account of India (The Indica) only fragments have been preserved. From his account we learn that "women followed the king when he was going out to hunt," that "armed women accompanied him on war chariots or horses or elephants both on his hunting expeditions and into battle" and that any body approaching the women was killed. He says emphatically that there was no slavery in India. But both the वृत्तिराज् and the अर्थशास्त्र speak of different classes of male and female slaves. Megasthenes says that the agriculturists who were the majority of the population never took part in war or in other public services, but their land was never devastated in war. The Indians had a navy with an admiral who had five officials under him.

